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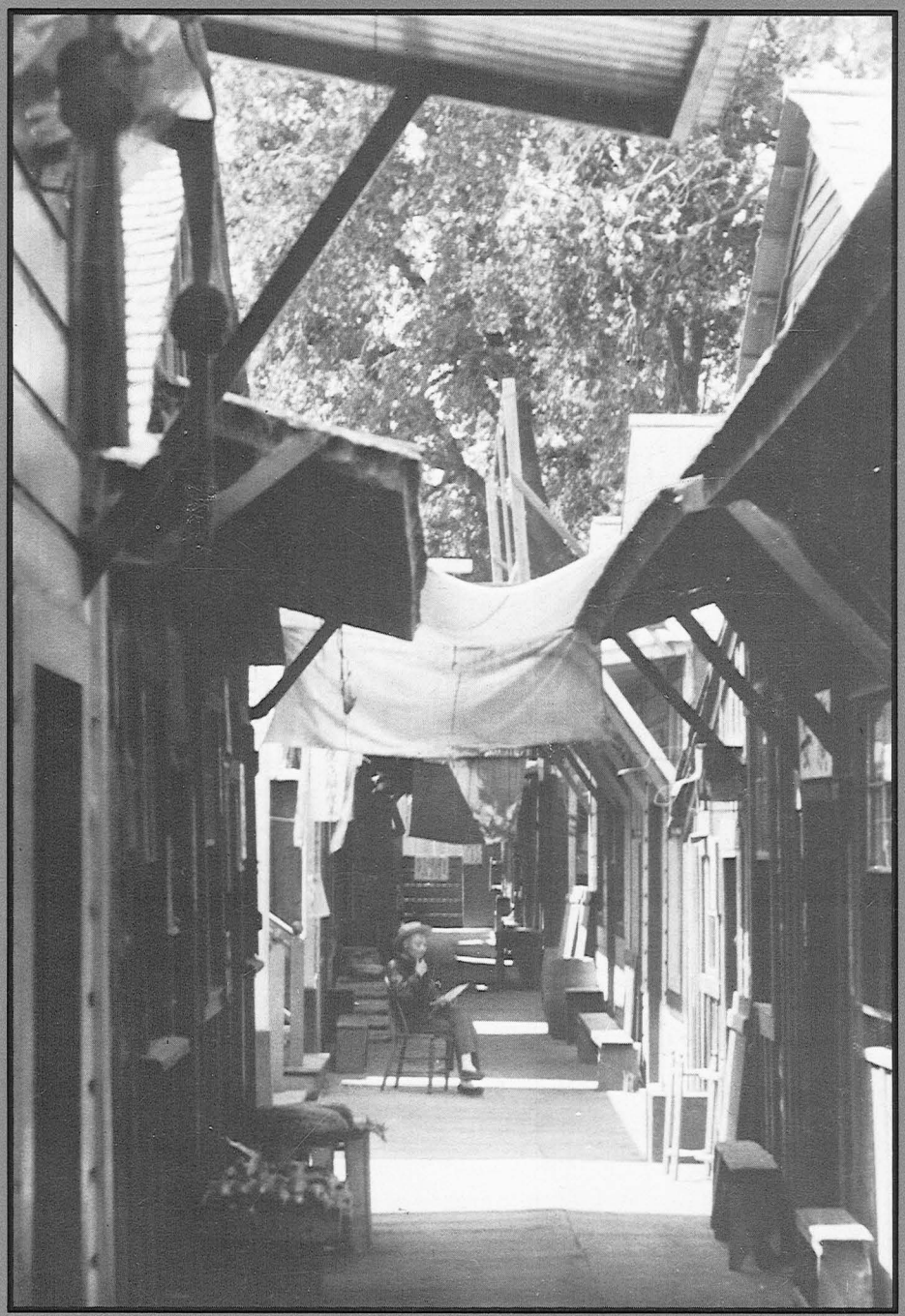

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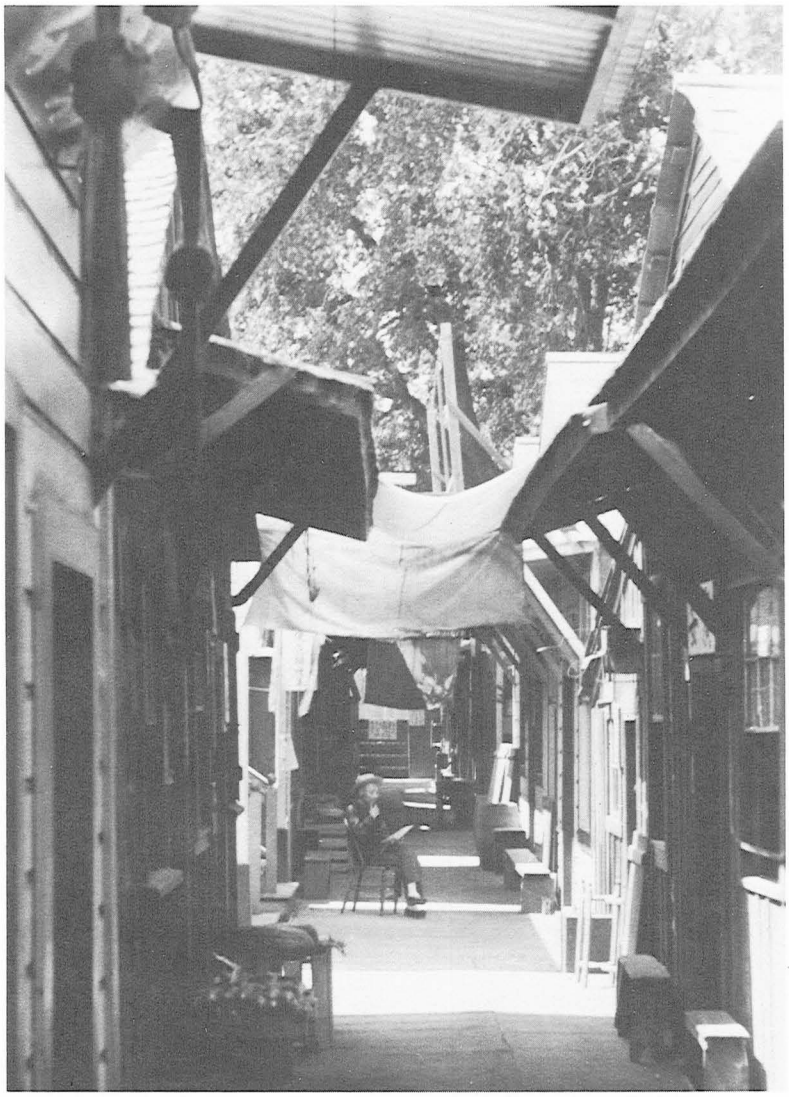
About Our Cover . . .



Courtesy, The Bancroft Library

Walnut Grove, California, circa 1903. This small Sacramento delta community, well-known for its long residence by Chinese and Japanese immigrants, is the subject of "Celadons and Sake Bottles: Asian History Underground" by Mary L. Maniery and Julia G. Costello. In this article they examine the findings of an archaeological dig conducted in 1984 during the construction of a new sewer and water system in Walnut Grove. As the backhoes dug trenches through the main streets, the history of this "Chinatown," its fires of 1915 and 1937, and its reconstruction, was exposed and recorded.

THE **Pacific Historian**

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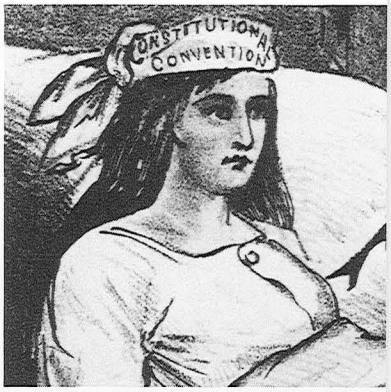
Winter 1986 Volume XXX Number 4



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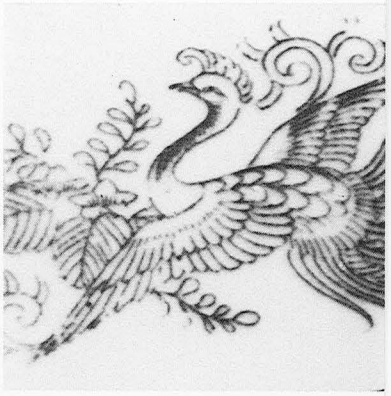

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THE PACIFIC HISTORIAN (ISBN 0030 8676) is published quarterly by the Holt-Atherton Center for Western Studies at the University of the Pacific, Stockton, California 95211. Single copy, $5.00. Subscriptions, $20.00 per year ($3.00 per year extra outside U.S.). Manuscripts and communications from subscribers should be sent to the above address. All manuscripts must be submitted in triplicate and be accompanied by return postage. Please write for *The Pacific Historian* style sheet, adapted from the MLA Style Manual. THE PACIFIC HISTORIAN will consider, but assumes no responsibility for, unsolicited material.

From the Editor's Desk

The Editor wonders aloud as to whether any reader may have noted the fact that with the current volume of the journal, THE PACIFIC HISTORIAN has entered its fourth decade. This is indeed momentous in the world of publishing and we are moved to consider toasting our longevity. Little could the founders of THE PACIFIC HISTORIAN, just after the mid-way point of the twentieth century, way back when the University of the Pacific was still the College of the Pacific, imagine that toward the end of the twentieth century the journal would still be going strong. Given the competitiveness of the world of publishing and the tight budgets that are a fact of life, as well as the recent economically stringent times through which our country has passed, we do think this is a milestone worth citing.

A litmus test of a journal's quality is whether articles it has published appear later as chapters in larger works. When that occurs, clearly scholarly presses have reinforced a journal's judgment in recognizing the excellence of particular authors. The editor of THE PACIFIC HISTORIAN is very pleased to call to our readers' attention the several PACIFIC HISTORIAN authors whose works published in our journal became stepping stones to publication of books. As recent examples, two articles in the Winter 1984 issue are now appearing in revised form. William Richardson's "Wrangell's Journey of 1836: From Sitka to Saint Petersburg by Way of Mexico" will appear in *From Rezanov to Trotsky: Russians in Mexico, 1806-1940*, to be published by the University of Pittsburgh Press, and Dorothy Zimmerman's edited chapters of May Wynne's memoir, "Trip to Reindeer Camp" and "Food Gathering," will appear as parts of a book-length edition published by the University of Nebraska Press. Further, one of the articles in the Summer 1986 issue, "A Promise Fulfilled: Mexicana Cannery Workers in Southern California," by Vicki L. Ruiz, is to appear in revised form as *Building Bridges: Mexican Women, Unionization and the California Food Processing Industry, 1930-1950* published by the University of New Mexico Press. For our most recent example, the article "State Politics and Educational Leadership in California: The Ebb and Flow of the Nineteenth Century" by Thomas James is being published in his co-authored *Law and the Shaping of Public Education* by the University of Wisconsin Press. Other such examples could be cited if length permitted. But in sum, this is a continuing trend of which we are enormously proud. We congratulate and salute each of these authors.

Sally M. Miller

Letters to the Editor

Pacific Historian
Re: Reviews of Western Books
The American West . . . by Gerald D. Nash

Mr. Bartlett is wrong to criticize the fact about the B-17.

In 1942, Douglas started production of the B-17. The Flying Fortress was in fact built by five companies as part of a "Production Pool."

Douglas went on to build the B-18, B-19, B-23, B-24, and others.

John Sporleder
Glendale, CA

Courtesy, The Bancroft Library

This illustration from the January 11, 1879, issue of the San Francisco Illustrated Wasp *gives a clear picture of the issues and concerns that set the mood for Californians to rewrite their state constitution.*

CALIFORNIA CONSTITUTIONALISM

Politics, the Press and the Death of Fundamental Law

Gordon Morris Bakken

As the bicentennial of our federal constitution nears, interest in our fundamental law increases. Our focus on the U. S. Constitution becomes sharper both because of the two-hundredth anniversary and because of critical comment about the U. S. Supreme Court's seeming inability to give constitutional interpretation coherence. Commentators have suggested many constructs for judicial interpretation including textualism, originalism, moral reasoning, political-moral knowledge, and hermeneutic insight. In the discussion of these interpretative theories, we call into question the nature of a constitution. Is it a compact, a contract, a constitutive act, a set of goals, a series of commands, or a political compromise? Are we to interpret the constitution solely in terms of words or text, or are we to look broadly at the Declaration of Independence, the Federalist Papers, Anti-Federalist tracts, the Northwest Ordinance, and the like? Should we even more boldly assert that the culture of the eighteenth century, the socioeconomic arrangements of the time, and the ideology of the Revolution be included in our analysis?[1] These questions are equally fit for California's constitution, but the answers are far beyond the scope of this attempt to stimulate serious thought about the nature of our 1879 constitution. I propose to listen to the public voices of our past and to determine what they said that California was about in 1878-79. What was it that we were doing in that sacred institution, the constitutional convention?

California wrote its first constitution in 1849 and its second version of fundamental law in 1879. In the three decades between constitutional conventions, growing numbers of individuals perceived that the 1849 constitution was not an effective instrument. The focus of their attention was the legislature and its shortcomings. Critics leveled charges of waste, graft, and irresponsibility against the legislature. Politics failed to remedy the situation, and a movement emerged in the 1870s to call a constitutional convention. The response was part of a greater phenomenon that shifted the concept of a constitution away from fundamental legal principles of governmental structure and limits; instead, the concept was of response to contemporary problems with constitutional solutions at the expense of legislative discretion and action. The problem of distinguishing fundamental principle from legislation in a constitution was not a new one for California. Although addressing only issues dealt with at the 1849 consitutional convention, the 49ers themselves voiced such concerns. In debate, J. M. Jones, a San Joaquin lawyer, observed that "the pages of the Constitution should not be encumbered with regulations in regard to local im-

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Gordon Morris Bakken is author of Development of Law on the Rocky Mountain Frontier *(1983),* Development of Law in Frontier California *(1985) and* Rocky Mountain Constitution Making, 1850-1912 *(1987), in addition to numerous articles and book chapters on legal history. Bakken is Professor of History at California State University, Fullerton, and has been Russell Sage Residency Fellow of Law and American Bar Foundation Fellow of Law.*

provments. It is a subject belonging to the statute books.'' Charles T. Botts, a Monterey attorney, agreed. ''I confess,'' he mused, ''that I can see no connexion [sic] between a McAdamised road and a bill of rights.''[2]

California wrote its second constitution in 1879 amid economic, social, and political turmoil. A. A. Bynon in his popular handbook on the convention expressed the optimism that accompanied the delegates in 1878. ''This convention,'' he wrote, ''which meets in Sacramento in September next, is destined to awaken an intense interest in the mind of every person of intelligence in the State, because upon the result of that Convention will depend the future welfare of California.''[3] The burden for the delegates was to address the problems of the day. The 1879 document was a product of the times and of the changed concept of fundamental law. No place was this more clear than in the press of the time, as this article will discuss below.

The late 1870s for California were years of economic change, social dislocation, and political upheaval. The mining boom of the 1850s was over. The flush times for miners were gone, replaced by corporate control. The excitement of a new glory hole had evaporated, replaced by the speculation fever of mining stocks. New economic interests in agriculture and industry were emerging. Vast landed estates existed in the hands of a few, while small farmers struggled with subsistence tilling of the soil. The business cycle of the decade drove great and small into bankruptcy. Political solutions seemed to be in the hands of men without the will to act. From the agricultural regions, the voice of the Grange called for change.

In the sand lots of San Francisco, Denis Kearney and his followers insisted that the Chinese be driven from the state along with the land and railroad monopolists. One demand emanating from various groups was for a constitutional convention to deal with the perceived evils.[4] In John Parrott's mind, Denis Kearney was the problem. Writing after the ratification of the constitution, Parrott, a San Francisco banker and merchant, ranted that ''A man by the name of Kearney is kicking up a muss here and has started a new party, called the workingmen's Communist reform or what may be termed a constitutional thieving party.''[5] As Ezra Hamilton remembered, Denis Kearney ''was the man that would redress all the rongs [sic]. From this [sandlot meeting] the Workingmen's Party was organized which brought the amend [sic] of the State Constitution.'' Hamilton's use of the concept of amendment was very apt. As Neil Larry Shumsky has demonstrated, the Workingmen wanted to rid the system of evil men. ''Institutions themselves were fundamentally sound; they simply needed to be purified and protected.''[6] The goals of the Workingmen in the constitution were far more conservative than their critics observed.

The decades of the 1870s also exhibited marked demographic change. California's population increased fifty percent according to census data, with the largest growth occurring among whites. Native-born whites augmented their numbers more rapidly than did foreign-born whites. The greatest increase in population came from births rather than immigration, which characterized the prior decade. Native-born Californians contributed more to that growth than did immigrants. The proportion of male population over twenty-one decreased by the end of the decade, and the greater proportion of the population was female, resulting in a birth rate approximating the national norm by 1880. Chinese population grew by fifty percent during the 1870s, mostly through immigration. The California counties that showed a steady growth rate were in the coast and central valley regions. Mining and mountain counties were losing population or were experiencing fluctuating growth. Mining productivity was increasing. Economics had a marked impact upon population demography.[7]

San Francisco was the place where these changes were most vivid as the city emerged as a western financial center between 1868 and 1887. The increased flow of capital into the city stimulated increased specialization and greater efficiency in finance. Brokers established stock exchanges enabling the acceleration of stock market speculation. Dealers in commercial paper emerged to increase the velocity of commercial transactions. Specialized law firms serviced their industrial and commercial clients with greater efficiency.[8] This was a climate of rapid change for business and uncertainty for urban labor. It was a climate that Kearney capitalized upon in his successful agitation for a constitutional convention.

Holt-Atherton Center, UOP

Denis Kearney was born at Oakmount County Cork, Ireland, on February 1, 1847. At the age of eleven he went to sea and sailed for some years under the American flag. He arrived in San Francisco in 1868 where he married and started a family. By 1872 he was able to purchase his own draying business, and by 1876 he had acquired property and become a naturalized citizen. His first public appearances were at a lyceum where he developed his skills as a public speaker. In 1877 he represented the Draymen and Teamsters' Union in presenting their labor grievances to United States Senator Sargent. Later in the year he took a leading role in the organization of the Workingmen's Party of California and became its president and chief promoter. As a party leader he addressed his followers in frequent speeches delivered on the "sand lots" of San Francisco — now the site of the city's civic center. Through these meetings he developed a reputation as an agitator, and though his fiery speeches created little violence, he was repeatedly arrested. He was always acquitted, however, or the charges were dropped. Following the second constitutional convention in 1879 and the presidential campaign of 1880, Kearney retired from public view. He died in Alameda, California, on April 24, 1907.

In 1878 the legislature authorized a constitutional convention, and the battle began in the press and in the streets for delegates. The use of the press for propaganda purposes proved to be the most effective technique for consolidating the people into a few distinct groups.[9] Kearney and his Workingmen's Party were perceived to be the radical left, demanding the regulation of railroads and corporations, the abolition of "Chinese Cheap Labor," equal taxation of "all lands of equal and productive nature," land reform, and the eight-hour day.[10] The Republicans and the Democrats formed an anti-radical coalition and arranged a "non-partisan" slate of delegates. The people sent seventy-eight non-partisans, fifty-one Workingmen, eleven Republicans, ten Democrats, and two Independents to the convention.[11] Kearney described the non-partisan ticket as "composed of thieves, villainous and murderous bloodsuckers, a band of criminals and robbers."[12] The convention was expected to produce a controversial document under the circumstances, and the delegates did not disappoint their journalistic audience.

The convention completed its work on March 3, 1879 and adopted the document by a vote of one hundred and twenty to fifteen. The delegates provided that copies of the constitution be sent to every voter in the state. It did not take long for the newspapers to take up the issue in editorials, reports, and letters to the editor. One type of missive was classic mud-slinging. The *Anaheim Gazette* published a letter from William R. Olden, a local land owner and a frequent contributor to the *Gazette*, on April 12, 1879, that typified one category of comment:

> We find the class who favor the new Constitution are the criminal classes, all of the thieves, burglars, tramps, the men who won't work and expect to be supported in idleness, the men who don't pay taxes, or, in other words, the crowd who congregate on the sand lots and cheer the communistic, law-defying harangues of Kearney — these men are solidly organized in favor of the new Constitution.[13]

The supporters of the constitution thought a similar breed opposed the document. The *San*

Francisco Chronicle observed on April 19, 1879, that "they want no interruption of their heyday. They want a continuation of their freedom to conspire, rob, oppress, and grow rich off the toils of other men. They are coming out in full force, and every man of them and every thief of them intends to vote against the new Constitution."[14] The journalistic invective was mirrored in private correspondence. Edward Fitzgerald Beale, a businessman, investor, and wool dealer, wrote from Washington, D. C., to Robert Symington

Courtesy, The Bancroft Library

Baker, a California businessman and founder of Santa Monica, in Los Angeles on March 27, 1879, that "we are in California on the verge of the worst sort of Communism." He continued that "it is almost useless to attempt to sell California property [in the East] since that Kearney Constitution" largely because "the commune is unpopular in this part of the United States."[15] The fear of communism was a fear for property values as well as of the crowd in the decade following the French Commune.

This San Francisco Illustrated Wasp *drawing entitled "A Suggestion of a New Constitutional Dress for California, by the Workingmen's Party, Sept, 29th, 1878" satirically depicts the party's stand on the new constitution.*

One particular focus of the propertied few and money lenders was the provision to tax mortgages. One observer wrote from Los Angeles in 1879 that business "was very dull here, the question [of the adoption of the Constitution] was the topic with everyone. If adopted business of all kinds will be paralyzed." As a result, the banks were "preparing for the worst . . . calling in mature loans."[16] San Francisco lawyer Frank Clough reported a similar condition. His law firm was "doing a pretty good business . . . but we can't collect any money at present. Nobody has any money here now. The banks won't lend money on the best kind of real estate as security."[17] The San Luis Obispo *Tribune* editorialized a picture of doom for debtors and a collapse of capital inflow for industry if the constitution passed popular muster.[18] The Santa Barbara *Daily Press* found the provision to be a red flag to capital and a windfall for railroads. One editorial declared that the mortgage tax provision was a "specious pretext" to "exempt every railroad in the state."[19] The question of whether such a provision belonged in a constitution was consumed in the fiery rhetoric of apocalyptic prediction.

Both sides were able to find the worst elements in society wallowing in self-interest politics. The public voices using the rhetoric of fear do not provide the same kind of insight that the ratification debates on the federal constitution did in the prior century. However, it is interesting to note that it was the nature of property that was at stake. Edward Beale feared that California property values would be "diminished . . . fifty or seventy percent."[20] The *Chronicle* was concerned that property would continue to be stolen by the jobbers and monopolists. William Olden feared the rise of a dependent or deviant class that would sap society of its economic gain. The question became one of resource allocation and benefits, a more typically legislative function.

Another type of story paraded the horrible possibilities, probabilities, and certainties that would flow from the acceptance or rejection of the constitution. One observer commented that "if it is to be judged by its work, the Convention determined to tear down and destroy our present State Government and practically blot from existence all laws now in force and commence anew."[21] The Eureka *Democratic Standard* marched "fifty solid reasons why the new instrument should be adopted" before the people of Humboldt County.* The vision of the *San Francisco Chronicle* was even grander.

> Thus in the new farms, the new mines, the new shops and the new ships, we shall find work for the million, and there will be no more hunger and wretched men upon our streets. The men who are now cutting each other's throats at the Stock Exchanges will be building quartz mills in the mountains, or delving in the mines, or exploring new districts. Our land grabbers will be erecting woolen factories or flouring mills, or engaging in other kinds of useful business. Farm houses will dot every valley and hillside, while the wine and the grain crop will swell our store-houses to bursting and gladden the hearts of the merchants. Our bankers, content with a fair interest, will be busy with the accounts of men whom they can trust without fear of losing both capital and interest. Our sailors will merrily chant their sea songs as their sails whiten every sea. California will be the Empire State of the West, and San Francisco, sitting by the Golden Gate, will command her full share of the commerce of the world.
>
> Who can hesitate to make sure of this new and golden age by casting his vote for the new Constitution?[22]

To the *Chronicle*, it was clear that a new constitution would bring the prosperity the old one had failed to provide. The reason the *Chronicle* even mentioned the old constitution was, of course, that one argument against change was that the existing document was sufficient.

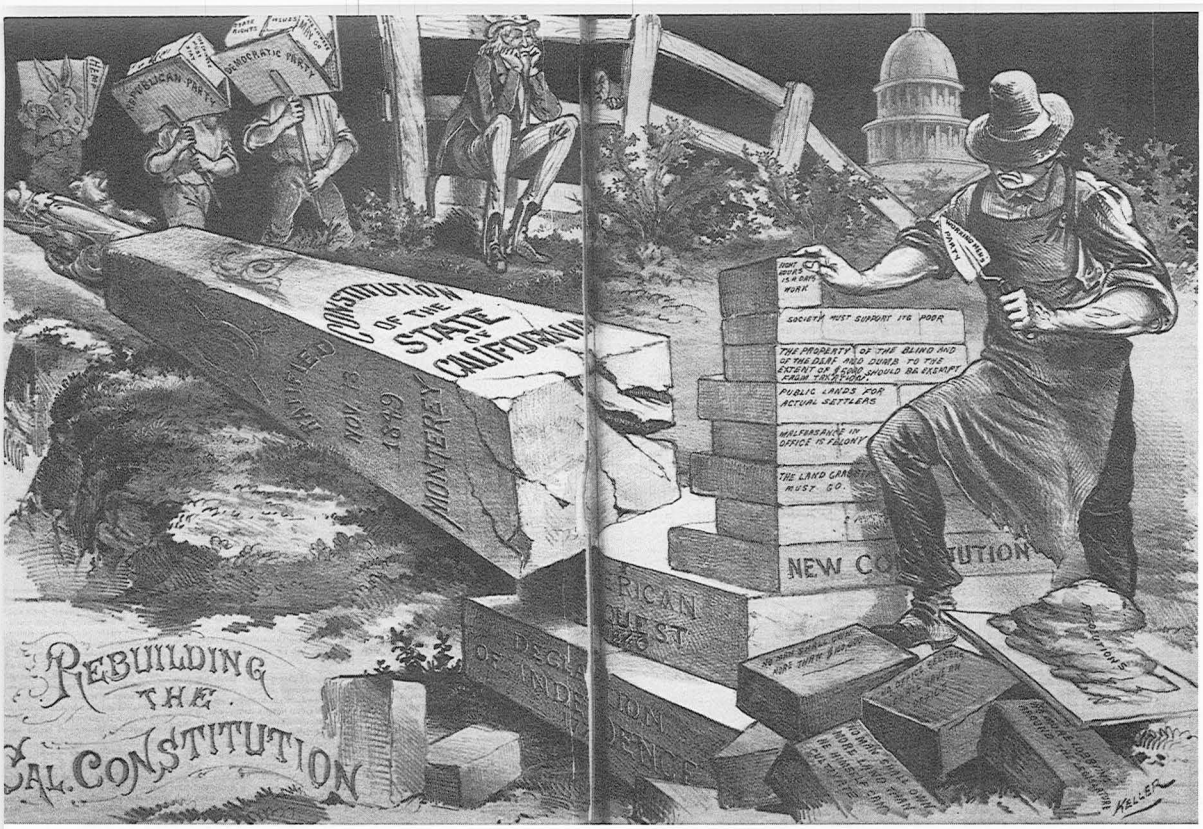
Experimentation was a dirty word for the opposition press. The *Sacramento Bee* found a "well-known attorney of this city" who thought that:

> . . . it would be a great and serious mistake to reopen at this late date all the many vexed questions of law, and for years to come our Courts would be overwhelmed with litigations, and all the issues in law that have been settled under the present instrument would be about as much value in this State in the future as would be edicts of the King of the Fiji Islands. It would, in some respects, be

*A Reform Constitution

It allows prosecution upon information thus doing away with frequent grand juries.
It protects the press from malicious prosecutions.
It better protects the citizens by amending the law of eminent domain.
It places corporations, so far as privileges are concerned on a footing with ordinary citizens.
It prohibits the Chinese from enjoying the elective franchise in the State.
It changes the time of meeting of the Legislature so as to prevent expensive holiday adjournments.
It places numerous necessary restrictions on legislation.
It shortens the sitting of the Legislature saving great expense.
It prevents bad bills from being rushed through the Legislature.
It reduces the pay of members of the Legislature.
It prevents lavish appropriations in legislative contingent expenses.
It compels the reading three times at length of every bill, thus preventing ignorant legislation.
It provides that no bill shall be passed except upon an "aye and noe" vote.
It gives the Governor time to digest all bills passed, by giving him ten days after the adjournment in which to approve or otherwise dispose of them.
It permits the Governor to veto any item in an appropriation bill — a check on thieving.
It prohibits the indiscriminate appropriation of State funds to private charities.
It places a salutory check on stock gambling.
It prohibits the loan of the credit of the State.
It prohibits subsidies.
It makes lobbying a felony.
It reduces the salaries of the State officials.
It does away with the expensive fees and perquisite system as applied to State officers.
It prohibits the Legislature from hereafter increasing the salaries of State officers.
It prohibits the pardon of a criminal twice convicted of felony.
It increases the efficiency of the Courts by simplifying proceedings and distributing business in such a way that it can be more promptly attended to, thus lessening the evils of the law's delay.
It gives each county a Court of general jurisdiction, open at all times for the transaction of business, thereby bringing justice home to every man's door.
It hastens the decision of cases by withholding the salary of judges who have neglected to decide cases for ninety days.
It simplifies the judicial system by providing for only two kinds of Courts of general jurisdiction.
It secures more careful decisions by dividing the Supreme Court in departments, thereby doubling its working capacity and giving the Judge more time for the study of cases.
It prevents the slighting of cases on appeal by requiring all decisions to be in writing, stating the reasons upon which they are based.
It provides that the school fund shall be used for primary and grammar schools.
It prohibits the pardon of a criminal twice convicted of felony.
It removes the University as far as possible from political influence.
It stops the contract system in prisons.
It places proper restrictions on the moving of county seats.
It prohibits the formation of a new county unless there is 5,000 population.
It directs the Legislature to establish a uniform system of county government.
The unlawful and unauthorized using of public moneys is made a felony.
It restricts cities, counties, towns, etc., from creating an indebtedness exceeding the revenue of a year, unless by consent of two thirds of the voters thereof.
It prohibits corporations making a fictitious increase of the capital stock.
It secures the right of representations to all shareholders in stock companies.
Strong checks have been placed upon the management of all corporations to secure efficiency.
The rights of depositors in savings banks are amply secured.
It prevents railroads, after reducing rates to kill off competition, returning to higher rates.
It creates a railroad Commission and arms it with full powers to regulate fares and freights and prevent discrimination.
It provides for the taxation of mortgages.
It commands the taxation of unimproved land at the same valuation as improved land.
It makes impossible the fraudulent transfer of property to evade taxation.
It makes water, when offered for sale or hire "a public use," and as such subject to regulation by law.
It prevents the further monopoly of the tide and overflowed lands of the State.

Democratic Standard, April 26, 1879.



Courtesy, The Bancroft Library

June 1, 1878, illustration from the San Francisco Illustrated Wasp *showing how the different political parties stood on the issues pertinent to the "rebuilding" of the California Constitution.*

> a good thing for lawyers, although it would puzzle some of them to give an off-hand opinion on any proposition that might be submitted to them . . . a very dangerous experiment. . . .[23]

The *Contra Costa Gazette* thought that "in several of its new provisions there [was] a clear departure from the principles of responsible Republican government, and a substitution of Autocratic Absolutism."[24] The concentration of power in the hands of the Chief Justice of the Supreme Court, the Railroad Commission, and the Legislature of the election or appointment of county officials galled the *Gazette*. The *Sacramento Bee* railed against the Railroad Commission:

> For railroad regulation it proposes an experimental monarchy in the shape of a Commission, with powers superior to those of any and all the departments of the State, and which hands over the world subject to three men, who are accountable to no one.[25]

After this tirade, the *Bee* published a letter from Thomas Sheehan, President of the First Ward Workingman's Club. Sheehan argued that the Railroad Commission had the "powers to regulate fares and freights and prevent discriminations." Further, the people would elect the Commissioners and thereby prevent abuses.[26] The *Chronicle* similarly supported the Commission system and was certain that three honest men could regulate the railroads.[27] Experiments could be helpful if given a chance.

These charges of experimentation were common in their time. The republican form of government contained concepts of three branches of government and a separation of powers. The rise of administrative agencies seemed to threaten the concepts of legislative, executive, and judicial functions. The Railroad Commission was a device to overcome the perceived inaction of the legislature, and would benefit the state's farmers. But was the constitution of California the proper place to establish an administrative agency or was the legislative

process the appropriate vehicle for such an enactment? Was this mere legislation?

A charge that got the *Chronicle's* attention was that the constitution was too long because it was full of legislation. The charge came early and often. In October 1878 the *Vallejo Weekly Chronicle* ran an editorial blasting the subject matter before the convention.

> From the character of many, we might almost say the majority, of the propositions being submitted to the Convention one would be justified in supposing that the movers thought they belonged to a legislature. Propositions after propositions are being introduced which even if proper in themselves, have no more business in a Constitution than has a school reader. We are compelled to suppose that many of the delegates are bringing forward amendments of this character to simply tickle the ignorant part of their constituencies and make capital for themselves at subsequent elections. It is not possible to believe that they are so totally ignorant of the proper scope and character of an organic code as not to recognize the folly of their own resolutions. Such men as these would confer a public benefit by resigning their seats and returning home. A Constitutional Convention is no proper place to manufacture personal or political capital in, and delegates who are actuated by such motives are dangerous men in the Convention.
>
> There is more danger of getting too much in a constitution than too little, and the utmost care should be used in restricting legislative power, and it should, in no case, be restricted unless experience or plain reasoning has shown it desirable. Legislatures are responsible to the people for their acts, but constitutions are responsible to no one; legislatures can be promptly superseded if they do wrong but, constitutions cannot, only with long time and difficulty. The people put a constitution over them as their master, the only one they recognize, and they ought to be careful what kind of a master they are putting and how much power they are delegating them.[28]

The *Contra Costa Gazette* printed a letter to the editor complaining about a mechanics lien statute being inserted into Article 20.[29] On November 2, 1878, the *Mendocino Beacon* reprinted a *Sacramento Record-Union* story entitled "A Code or A Constitution."[30] The criticism increased that spring. William R. Olden's letter to the *Anaheim Gazette* pointedly stated:

> A Constitution should contain nothing but the principles of law and government, expressed plainly in few words, simple and to the point. There should be no words omitted, required to make plain the exact meaning of the sentence, and no words added that would be likely to obscure the meaning. The new Constitution is full of errors of omission and redundancy.[31]

The *San Francisco Chronicle* replied that all the detail was necessary to control legislative caprice.

> . . . where the new Constitutions are still longer than ours and more deserving the epithet of 'Code of Laws.' The objectors say here as they said there: 'A Constitution should not be a code. You must trust these details about stock jobbers, tax-shirkers, railway plunderers, land-grabbers and thieves generally, including those interested in the scheme for fastening coolie slavery on the State, to the Legislature.'
>
> If no honest body has been hurt — nobody, in fact, but the professionals who are used to make dishonest laws in the legislature for hire — wherein is the bad of its length?
>
> Here in this golden land the people have tried many legislatures, have from time to time instructed, commended, implored them to give honest men aid and comfort against all manner of the dishonest and predatory thief-ring class, mentioning by name railway robbers, stock gamblers, land monopolies, land thieves and water thieves, but all has been in vain. The most solemn promises and pledges made before election — made to secure election — have been from session to session of the Legislature ignominiously broken.[32]

The constitution was an instrument to limit the legislature severely and to freeze in time as much

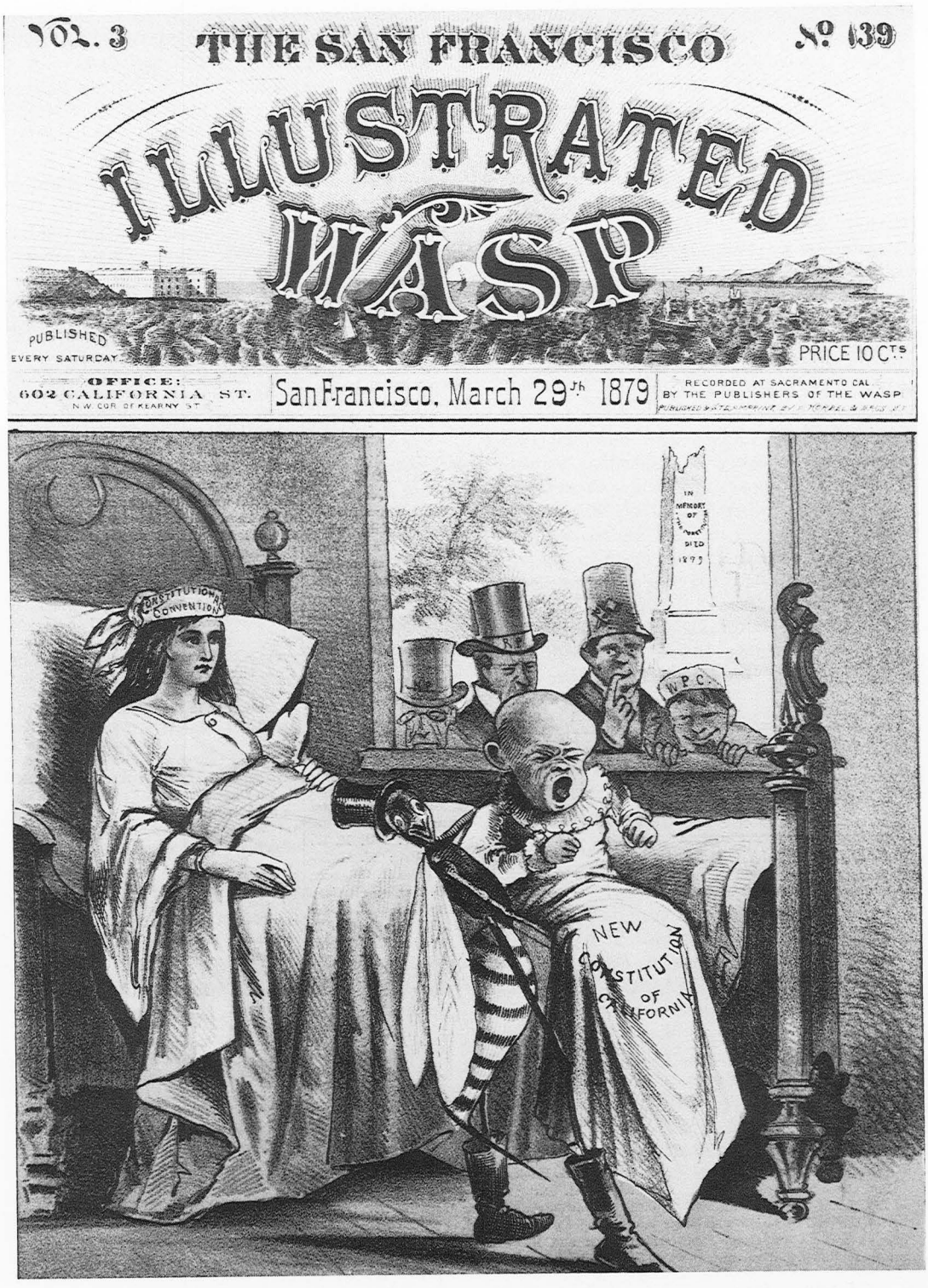
legislation as possible in the confines of a constitution.

The key features of the constitution addressed the chief grievances held by farmers against the old constitution.[33] Even with four-fifths of the newspapers in the state opposing the new constitution, it passed with a majority given it by the agricultural counties.[34] What the California Constitution had become was a list of restrictions upon legislative discretion and a code of laws for prevailing interests in the state. The 1879 constitution had changed the time of the meeting of the legislature, shortened its sessions, curtailed contigency spending bills, prohibited certain expenditures for private charities, banned certain subsidies, and provided the item veto on spending bills. The specifics limited legislative action. But California was not alone. State constitutions of the 1870s did restrict legislatures. They established tight regulation of railroads and warehouses. Delegates also expressed their suspicion of big business in specific limitations on the operations of corporations.[35] California had joined the age. Constitutions were fundamental documents as well as the public policy of the moment.

What then was this constitution of 1879? Considering the press itself, a majority of editors condemned the document. So too did Edward Beale, writing on April 17, 1879, that "no one in this country can be induced to invest a dollar in any California enterprise until this Communistic Constitution is voted down by the common sense of the people."[36] John Franklin Miller expressed a more measured view of the constitution despite its potential excesses in an 1879 speech.

> The real significance of a vote on this new Constitution was probably very imperfectly understood by the majority of those who voted for it. If the new Constitution shall be fairly carried out, no great harm will be done; the misfortune is, that it permits the introduction of socialism into our political system. It opens the way for leveling legislation, a system of laws under which the rights of property are insecure, inimical to capital and repressive to enterprise. It makes possible a system of unequal and discriminative taxation.[37]

The *San Francisco Chronicle* ran a story just before the election more to the point regarding the passage of the new constitution. There was "no party opposition to the new constitution" with the Workingmen voting "solidly for it."[38] The parade of horribles was substantial, but organized opposition was not evident. Rural interests found more to support in the new constitution than reasons to reject it. Farmers found a great deal in the new constitution that they liked. In addition to specific checks on legislative discretion, the constitution permitted a tax exemption for growing crops. All land was to be assessed at the same value, whether cultivated or not. The Railroad Commission promised relief from discriminatory freight rates. The prohibition of "local or special" laws seemed to relieve the anxiety over special interest legislation to the detriment of farmer interests. The requirement that the Supreme Court and the superior courts render judgments within ninety days of submission addressed a long term rural as well as urban grievance of justice delayed.[39] Those that feared a possible system of unequal and discriminatory taxation on mortgages found ways to accommodate change. Lawyers advised adjusting interest rates to include the tax.[40] Private lenders used market common sense to increase interest to pay the new tax.[41] As time passed lawyers made a business of checking the real estate record for the filing of certificate of tax sales of delinquent mortgage tax properties.[42] The legal and market system worked out an accommodation under the new constitution. The constitution's approach to the intersections of statute and business was skeptical at best. Looking at the conventions's product in the public arena gives us glimpses of the public issues, particularly the clear impression that the constitution was no longer a set of guiding principles, a fundamental law. It was a set of goals, a series of commands, and a political compromise to constitute a government and to force upon that government the judgments of 1879. Despite predictions of gloom, we know from hindsight that the judgment of the people that Government could accommodate change was correct. The principles inherent in fundamental law as well as the pragmatic forces of the American political system enabled change both in the language and, in part, the concept of a constitution.



Courtesy, The Bancroft Library

This cartoon entitled "Who Will Adopt This Child?" appeared on the cover of the March 29, 1879, issue of the San Francisco Illustrated Wasp.

NOTES:

1. Some examples of the criticisms: Paul Brest, "The Misconceived Quest for the Original Understanding," *Boston University Law Review* 60 (1980): 204. Ronald Dworkin, "The Forum of Principle," *New York University Law Review* 56 (1981): 469. Mark Tushnet, "Following the Rules Laid Down: A Critique of Interpretivism and Neutral Principles," *Harvard Law Review* 96 (1983): 781. For some proposed theories see: Larry Simon, "The Authority of the Constitution and Its Meaning: A Preface to a Theory of Constitutional Interpretation," *Southern California Law Review* 58 (1985): 603; David A. J. Richards, "Interpretation and Historiography," *Southern California Law Review* 58 (1985): 490; Michael J. Perry, "The Authority of Text, Tradition, and Reason: A Theory of Constitutional 'Interpretation,' " *Southern California Law Review* 58 (1985): 551; Ronald R. Garet, "Comparative Normative Hermeneutics: Scripture, Literature, Constitution," *Southern California Law Review* 58 (1985): 35; David C. Hoy, "Interpreting the Law; Hermeneutical and Poststructuralist Perspectives," *Southern California Law Review* 58 (1985): 135. For an extremely comprehensive review of the U. S. Supreme Court record see Jess H. Choper, "Consequences of Supreme Court Decisions Upholding Individual Constitutional Rights," *Michigan Law Review* 83 (October 1984): 1-212.

2. J. Ross Browne, *Report of the Debates in the Convention of California of the Formation of the State Constitution in September and October 1849* (Washington, D. C.: John T. Towens Publishers, 1850), p. 41.

3. A. A. Bynon, *The Constitutional Convention-1878-State of California* (San Francisco, CA: privately printed, 1878), p. 129. Vivian and Waldron saw the convention's task more conservatively. "The work of this convention is the amendment of the present Constitution of the State of California." T. J. Vivian and D. G. Waldron, *Biographical Sketches of the Delegates to the Convention to Frame a New Constitution for the State of California* (San Francisco, CA: privately printed, 1878), p. 14.

4. Hubert Howe Bancroft, *History of California 1860-1890*, vol. 7 (San Francisco, CA: Bancroft Company, 1890), pp. 371-75. William J. Courtney, *San Francisco's Anti-Chinese Ordinances, 1850-1890* (San Francisco, CA: Rand E. Research Associates, 1956), pp. 66-69. Doyce B. Nunis, Jr. (ed.), "The Demagogue and the Demographer: The Correspondence of Denis Kearney and Lord Bryce," *Pacific Historical Review* 36 (August 1967): 269-288. David B. Griffiths, "Anti-Monopoly Movement in California, 1873-1898," *Southern California Quarterly* 52 (June 1970): 93-121. Ralph Kauer, "The Workingman's Party of California," *Pacific Historical Review* 13 (September 1944): 278-91. Royce D. Delmatier, editor, *The Rumble of California Politics, 1848-1970* (New York, NY: Wiley, 1970), pp. 70-98.

5. Parrott to Houston, June 5, 1879 in Barbara Donohoe Jostes, ed., *John Parrott, 1811-1884* (San Francisco, CA: Lawton and Alfred Kennedy, 1972), pp. 194-95.

6. "Reminiscences," Ezra Hamilton Collection, MSS, California State Library, Box 214, p. 497. Neil Larry Shumsky, "Dissatisfaction, Mobility and Expectation: San Francisco Workingmen in the 1870s," *The Pacific Historian* 30 (Summer 1986): 27.

7. Dudley T. Moorhead, "Sectionalism and the California Constitution of 1879," *Pacific Historical Review* 12 (September 1943): 287-88.

8. William Issel and Robert W. Cherny, *San Francisco, 1865-1932* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1986), pp. 9-23.

9. Carl Brent Swisher, *Motivation and Political Technique in the California Constitutional Convention, 1878-1879* (Claremont, CA: Pomona College, 1930), pp. 17-31.

10. Warren A. Beck and David A. Williams, *California: A History of the Golden State* (Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1972), pp. 260-63.

11. Beck and Williams, p. 263.

12. Swisher, p. 20.

13. *Anaheim Gazette*, April 12, 1879. Also see Los Angeles *Star*, January 19, 21, and 23, 1879. Compare *Star*, February 12, 1879, on education. Anti-Chinese position see *Star*, March 5, 1879.

14. *San Francisco Chronicle*, April 19, 1879.

15. Baker Collection, MSS, Henry E. Huntington Library, Box 1.

16. Isaias Hellman to Matthew Keller, April 22, 1879, Matthew Keller Collection, MSS Huntington Library, Box 1.

17. Clough to Mother, August 18, 1879, Frank Clough Collection, MSS, California State Library, Box 157.

18. San Luis Obispo *Tribune*, April 19, 1879.

19. Santa Barbara *Daily Press*, May 5, 1879.

20. Baker Collection, MSS, Huntington Library, Box 1.

21. *Contra Costa Gazette*, April 26, 1879. Also see *Mendocino Beacon*, May 3, 1879; *Placer Argus*, March 22, 1879; *Sacramento Bee*, April 9, 1879. *San Luis Obispo Tribune*, March 29, 1879.

22. *San Francisco Chronicle*, April 12, 1879.

23. *Sacramento Bee*, April 24, 1879.

24. *Contra Costa Gazette*, April 5, 1879.

25. *Sacramento Bee*, April 7, 1879. The *Placer Argus* also observed on April 5, 1879, that "The new Constitution creates a commission that includes the three departments of Government in one. This arm of the State Government therefore realizes fully the universally accepted definition of despotism. There is,

therefore, a strong tendency against popular Government."

26. *Argus*, April 29, 1879.

27. *San Francisco Chronicle*, November 23 and 26, 1878; December 3 and 6, 1878; February 1 and 2, 1879; 1879; March 26, 1879.

28. *Vallejo Weekly Chronicle*, October 19, 1878.

29. *Contra Costa Gazette*, April 26, 1879.

30. *Mendocino Beacon*, November 2, 1878. See "A Code or a Constitution," *Mendocino Beacon*, Nov 2, 1878. The *Beacon* took the early position that "if it [the Convention] takes to legislate after the ordinary fashion, instead of confining itself to the enunciation of principles, it is liable to fall into grave errors." The San Francisco *Pacific Appeal* came out vigorously against the Constitution and bantered with the *Chronicle*, March 15, April 5, 12, 19, 26, May 3, 10, 1879. The May 10, 1879, edition also stated that "The Grangers have carried their new constitution, after promising that it would bring unexampled prosperity to California, and we want them to prove now that they are sincere — Let them buy land, construct ditches. . . . They have furnished another proof that the multitude can make fools of themselves. . . ." Also see San Luis Obispo *Tribune*, April 5, 12, 19, 1879.

31. *Anaheim Gazette*, May 3, 1879.

32. *San Francisco Chronicle*, March 27, 1879. The Fort Jones *Scott Valley News* agreed on April 10, 1879: "The numerous loopholes in the old instrument are suggestive of the immense improvement on the construction of the new inasmuch as there are no loopholes or opportunities for misconstruing its provision. The growth of our great state also demands that such a constitution be more fully particularized than the old, and the argument of length, as many others brought to bear on the new constitution, is very trifling."

33. Moorhead, p. 292.

34. Moorhead, p. 293.

35. Lawrence Friedman, *A History of American Law* (New York, NY: Simon and Schuster, 1973), pp. 302-307.

36. Beale to Baker, Baker Collection, MSS, Henry E. Huntington Library, Box 1.

37. John F. Miller Collection, MSS, California State Library. Box 447. Miners also expressed concern about "double taxation" of their interests. *Daily Alta California*, March 25, 1879. The Los Angeles *Daily Star*, April 20, 1879, saw the possibility of double taxation of certain stock companies. The *Fresno Weekly*, Oct. 18, 1878, early stated that "it should be a fundamental principle of the country that all property should bear its proportion of taxation, and no more." The San Luis Obispo *Tribune* saw that taxation article as "a revolution," April 18, 1879. On May 3, 1879, the *Tribune* ran a "facts for tax-payers" column attacking the Constitution.

38. San Francisco *Chronicle*, March 9, 1879.

39. Theodore H. Hittel, *History of California*, 4 volumes (San Francisco, CA: N. J. Stone and Company, 1898), vol. 4, pp. 615-40. Also see *San Luis Obispo Tribune*, March 15, 1879.

40. Gordon Morris Bakken, *Development of Law in Frontier California* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1985), pp. 58-59.

41. See David Jacks Collection, MSS, Huntington Library. Boxes C(3), C(7), and B(II)(4) for numerous examples in mortgage documents and correspondence. As Jackson A. Graves wrote Simon Wallace on Feb. 22, 1881, "We will make the note 11 1/2% which will give you ten percent and allow 1 1/2% for taxes." Graves Collection, MSS, Huntington Library, 1881-83 Letterbook.

42. Graves Collection, O'Melveny and Shankland to Main Street Savings Bank & Trust Co., Aug. 28, 1891. 1891-92 Letterbook.

POLITICS, LAND, AND

The Last Days of the San Bernardino Mormon

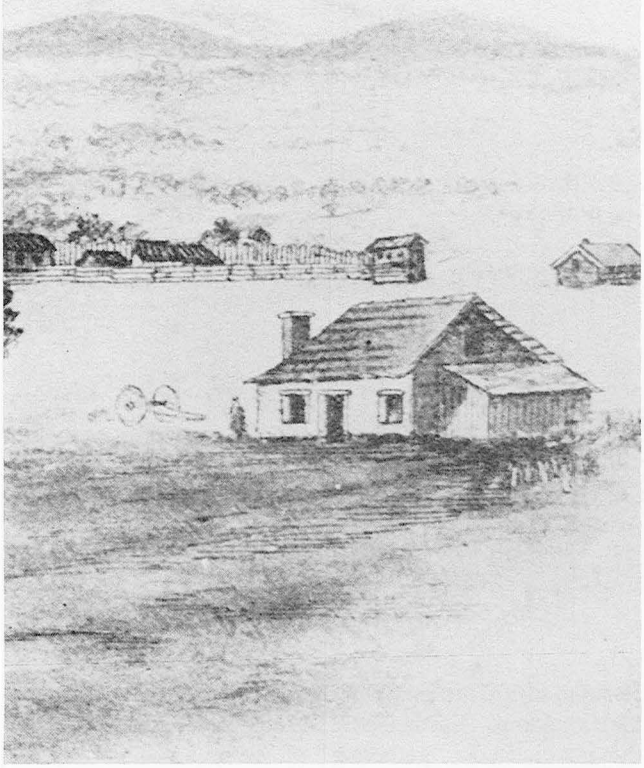
San Bernardino Mormon colony in 1852.

M. Guy Bishop is a curator of history at the Los Angeles County Museum of Natural History. Dr. Bishop has recently published articles in Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought, Western Illinois Regional Studies, *and the* Hawaiian Journal of History. *Currently he is working on a biography of Henry William Bigler (1815-1900), a Mormon frontiersman and community builder.*

APOSTASY

Colony, 1855-57

M. Guy Bishop



Steele's Photo Service, San Bernardino, CA

The Western Standard, a Latter-day Saint (Mormon) newspaper published at San Francisco, reported rumors of trouble at the Mormon settlement of San Bernardino, during April 1857. "Late reports [from southern California] represent that a good deal of trouble exists among the Mormons," the paper observed. "The cause of the difficulty seems to be a few persons who failed to get offices . . . to which they aspired, and a man who was on land that he would neither pay for or leave. They [the office seekers and the squatter] joined forces and commenced kicking up a muss."[1] Perhaps indicative of the slowness of communications on the West Coast frontier of the mid-1850s, the troublesome election cited in the report had occurred almost two years earlier, while the trespassing incident took place in 1856. But, belatedly mentioned or not, the cases of the disgruntled politicians and the stubborn squatter both had served notice to the Mormons at San Bernardino that there was growing dissension within their ranks. Political rivalry as well as tension over land ownership would ultimately foster internal apostasy and external anti-Mormonism in southern California. In order to understand fully the crisis situation which was ready to explode by the later 1850s, a review of Mormon history at San Bernardino is needed.

I.

During the summer of 1851, the *Los Angeles Star* had briefly noted the arrival of some five hundred Mormon pioneers in southern California. The prospective residents were said to be engaged in negotiations with the family of Don Antonio Maria Lugo, holders of a large Mexican land grant east of Los Angeles, for the purchase of several thousand acres in the San Bernardino Valley.[2] This quasi-official colonization project was intended to secure a foothold for the Latter-day Saints on the shores of the Pacific Ocean. While the church was not supplying any financial backing to the venture, the leaders of the pioneering party were two high-ranking Mormon churchmen. Apostles Charles Coulsen Rich

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Amasa M. Lyman, 1852.

and Amasa Mason Lyman had proven records of faithful service, and, more importantly, both men had some prior acquaintance with California. In fact, it was Rich who had convinced church president Brigham Young of the feasibility of settling the area.

Young succeeded Joseph Smith as leader of the Latter-day Saints in the months following Smith's murder in 1844 and led the majority of the Mormons to the Great Salt Lake Valley in the late 1840s. Due to their recently unfavorable experiences with non-Mormons in the Midwest, Young and his colleagues in the church's hierarchy were determined to control the entire Great Basin to insure the safety of their Rocky Mountain kingdom.[3] Furthermore, Latter-day Saint thought dictated a "gathering" of Mormon converts to the secure haven of Zion (the place where *all* faithful church members dwelled). Since the religion's eviction from Nauvoo, Illinois, Salt Lake City had become the new haven to which Mormon converts were to gather.[4] Church leaders expected their active missionary program soon to bear fruit from the West Coast, the Pacific Isles, and Australia. Since it was assumed that these new Mormons might well arrive via the port of San Pedro (near Los Angeles), they decided that a way station to assist them on their journey to the Utah Territory was in order. It was for this purpose, along with expanding Mor-

Steele's Photo Service, San Bernardino, CA

Charles C. Rich, 1855.

mon geographical control, that a colony was planned in southern California.

As early as 1849 Charles C. Rich had discussed the purchase of property in the Los Angeles area with Isaac Williams, a son-in-law of Don Antonio Maria Lugo. Williams had a rancho near present-day Chino which he offered to sell to Rich. The Mormon told Williams he would consider the offer, and soon returned to Utah to discuss it with Brigham Young. After some hesitancy, Young agreed to the venture and in November 1850 Charles C. Rich and Amasa Lyman were "called" to lead a pioneering company to southern California.

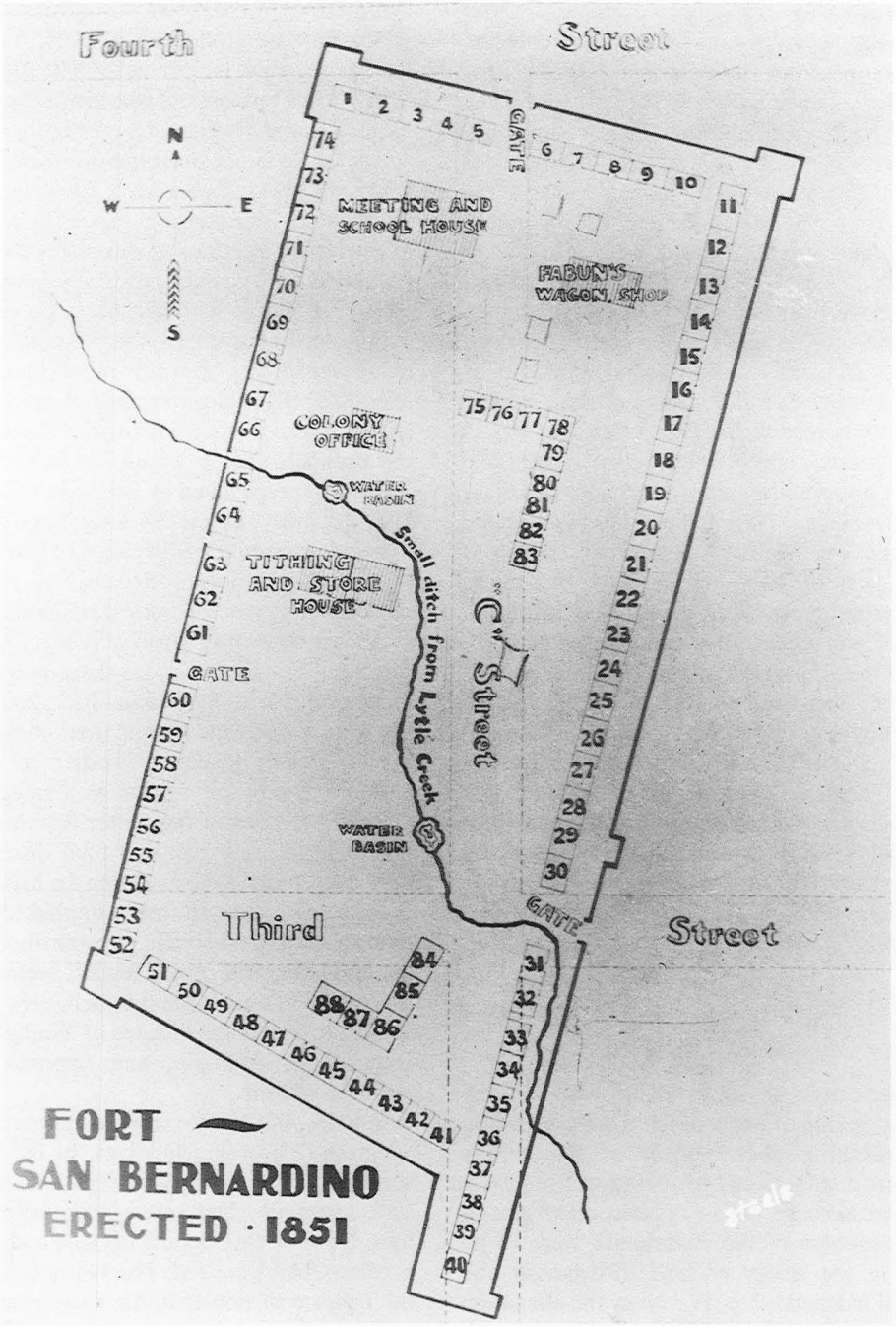
Lyman and Rich had planned to take an advance group of about twenty-five men, but when word of the planned foray became known, many clamored to join it. The fertile soil and temperate climate of California had been known among the Latter-day Saints since the days of the Mormon Battalion of Mexican War fame. And the recent discovery of gold in northern California had added to the attraction of the state. According to James Henry Rollins, who had been asked to join the expedition, there were "many of the brethren" who sought to go along.[5] For a variety of reasons, whether it was a distaste for the doctrine of plural marriage (polygamy) which was now being encouraged by Mormon leaders of Utah, an inability to remain in harmony with Brigham Young's rather heavy-handed domination of daily life in the Great Salt Lake Valley, or simply the appeal of California's bounties, nearly five-hundred expectant colonists assembled at the departure point in the spring of 1851.[6] Brigham Young, who had intended to deliver a farewell address, was so dismayed at the group's inflated size that he refused to render his blessings. Young reportedly commented that he was "sick at the sight of so many of the [S]aints running off to California, chiefly after the gods of this world."[7] While Brigham Young would continue to recognize the potential usefulness of an establishment near Los Angeles as a way station for emigrating converts, he never again exhibited much enthusiasm for the settlement. With a number of participants who were more attuned to personal desires than church growth, and with a disenchanted Young lingering in the shadows, Rich and Lyman faced numerous obstacles as they sought to make their colony a success.

It had been the apostles' original intention to buy the Isaac Williams holdings at Chino. But, upon their arrival in the area, they learned that Williams had changed his mind and no longer wished to sell. In an attempt to mask this disappointing development, Amasa Lyman wrote to Brigham Young that the Rancho Del Chino "was not the right place for our settlement."[8] It was said to lack sufficient water and timber resources for a body the size of the Mormon contingent. The search for an alternate site was immediately launched.

Interestingly, it was shortly after this turn of events that the Lugo family (Williams' relatives) offered some property to the Latter-day Saint colonists. The Lugo's rancho had become available due to some recent Indian hostility in the San Bernardino area. At first Lyman and Rich had hoped to arrange the purchase for between fifty and sixty thousand dollars, but they eventually agreed to a higher price of $77,500. The property was thought to encompass between 80,000 and 100,000 acres and included existing structures.[9] At a later time the United States Land Commission would greatly reduce the size of the Lugo's original Mexican grant and thus diminish the extent of the Mormon holdings.

The settlers quickly moved onto the land, began to construct homes within a solid stockade enclosure as a deterrent to Indian raids, and prepared for the winter. By February 1852 the colonists had improved the property to such an extent that Amasa Lyman was able to inform Brigham Young that crops had been planted and the community was prospering. In a letter to fellow apostle Franklin D. Richards, written in June of that year, Lyman related the colony's progress in detail. Some two thousand acres of the tract had been surveyed, a grist mill and a saw mill were under construction, and plans were being drawn for a future city. Since Richards was, at the time, serving a church mission in cold, damp England, Amasa Lyman added with some apparent glee that "the climate here [in southern California] is as pleasant as we could wish. At no time during the winter was the weather so cold that an overcoat was necessary."[10]

The San Bernardino project began to bear fruit in regard to missionary work in 1852 as well. Other California emigrants, as well as some Hispanic natives, embraced Mormonism with



In 1851, upon hearing the news of the Southern California uprising started by Antonio Garra and his band of renegade Indians from the surrounding area, the Mormons quickly decided to protect themselves by building a stockade to hold the more than one hundred families of their colony. This diagram shows the stockade layout. Within an area of approximately seven hundred by three hundred feet were log dwellings surrounded by a fifteen-foot cottonwood and willow wall. The colonists lived in this enclosure, while farming the outlying fields, for more than a year, until Elder H. G. Sherwood arrived and laid out a plan for a new townsite.

some regularity. Richard R. Hopkins, who served the southern California community as clerk and recorder throughout the 1850s, kept a detailed account of these developments. His history mentioned numerous conversions, including the baptism of several individuals identified as "Mexicans or Spaniards" who were believed to be the first of that ethnic background to join the church.[11] While this proselytizing aspect of the colony's program was realized during the early years of the community's existence, the hoped-for role in the gathering never seemed to materialize fully. Although many Mormons passed through San Bernardino on their way to or from missions to the Pacific Isles, it would appear that the concept of a pipeline to Salt Lake City for emigrating Latter-day Saints never actually developed. During the 1850s few oceanic crossings with Mormon passengers terminated at the port of San Pedro.[12] San Francisco, rather than southern California, received the majority of Salt Lake City-bound travelers.

Still, the first years at San Bernardino must have been satisfying to Lyman and Rich. The spirituality and unity of purpose was strong in the spring of 1852, as Richard Hopkins joyfully noted: "The heart of every Saint appeared to join in praises and thanksgiving to the dispensor of all good for the happiness which surrounds us."[13] Unfortunately, this tranquility would soon begin to disappear for the San Bernardino Mormons.

II.

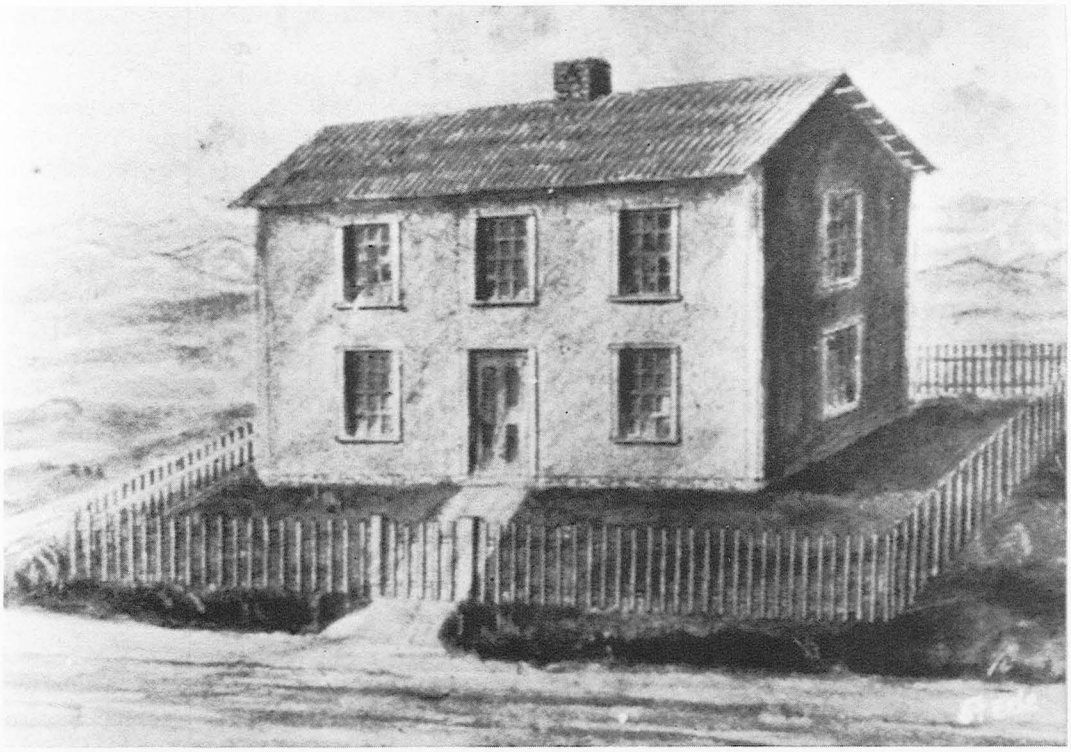
The cause, or causes, of the eventual disaffection of many of the residents and the resulting abandonment of the colony represent a tangled and recurring story in early Mormon history. Seeds of discontent among some members of the community were to be found in the issues of land distribution and political independence. For many the alienation brought on by these problems led to apostasy from the Latter-day Saint church. Also the influx of non-Mormon settlers into the San Bernardino area by the mid-1850s helped to spur the antagonism which eventually led to the demise of the southern California colony.

This was not to be the first experience with anti-Mormonism for most of the colonists, however. Previous examples from Missouri in the 1830s or, later, Nauvoo, Illinois, were quite similar to what happened at San Bernardino. While the California experience never exactly duplicated the Midwestern events, the comparison of the different situations does tend to reveal some weaknesses generated from within mid-19th century Mormonism — specifically attempts to establish a theocratic government and a recurring inability to co-exist peacefully for an extended period of time with non-Mormon neighbors.

In order to understand the political climate at San Bernardino a brief review of contemporary Mormon religious-governmental practices is in order. In accordance with a plan enunciated by the prophet, Joseph Smith, at Nauvoo in the 1840s and perpetuated by Brigham Young in the Utah Territory, the earthly Kingdom of God was to be administered by fifty men of proven ability and faithfulness.[14] Because of their past record and high ecclesiastical positions, Charles C. Rich and Amasa Lyman were members of this select body. As such, it was their prerogative to dictate candidates for public office, and the people were expected to second their choices at the polls. Church leaders, whether in Utah or California, saw this system as a safeguard for the civil liberties of the Latter-day Saints. The memories of mob rule and total disregard for their constitutional rights during the Missouri and Illinois years were so firmly implanted in Mormon minds that theocratic government under the direction of God's chosen leaders seemed a very acceptable practice. But non-believers were unwilling to accept the dictates of Young, Rich or Lyman, for example, and opposed such a political system.

Initially, this system worked very well for the southern California Mormons. In 1853, Jefferson Hunt, a Latter-day Saint representative to the state assembly, had successfully petitioned to have Los Angeles County divided and San Bernardino County created. The Mormons now held the balance of power in the new county. As a consequence, the election of June 1853 witnessed a sweep of all offices by the church-sponsored candidates. This victory, however, proved to be a harbinger of future discord for the local Mormons.

The 1855 county election saw some internal opposition mounted to the candidates designated by Rich and Lyman. Of particular interest were



Steele's Photo Service, San Bernardino, CA

Mormon Council House in San Bernardino, 1851.

the candidacies of Frederick Van Leuven and Benjamin Grouard. Van Leuven was a fairly recent emigrant to San Bernardino from the Utah Territory, while Grouard, a New Englander, had settled in southern California following the completion of a church mission to the Society Islands. Both men lacked the support of the San Bernardino ecclesiastical leadership, and they were soundly defeated at the polls. However, the specter of disunity had been introduced into the community.

Apostles Lyman and Rich responded to this challenge to their political authority by ordering the offenders before a church tribunal. At the hearing Amasa Lyman explained the nature of the wrongs committed by the men and urged them to confess their sins. Neither Van Leuven nor Grouard chose to make a confession, apparently feeling that they had done nothing wrong by simply seeking an elective office. As a consequence of their continued recalcitrance, the two men were "cut off from the church."[15]

This response by the apostles only aggravated the disunity which Van Leuven and Grouard had initiated. Rather than stemming any further opposition, as had been intended, political factionalism and local tensions increased thereafter. A rival party was organized, largely under the direction of Van Leuven, which attracted non-Mormons and disaffected church members into its ranks. Years before, politics had also provided a source of antagonism between Latter-day Saints and non-Mormons in the Midwest. At Jackson County, Missouri, in 1833, the pioneering residents of the area had become fearful of potential Mormon political strength and, viewing the situation as an "important crisis," they ultimately drove the followers of Mormonism from the county. Over ten years later the anti-Mormon editor of the *Warsaw* [Illinois] *Signal* would use Mormon political power at Nauvoo as a reason to attack the Latter-day Saints.[16]

Problems for the San Bernardino Mormons were compounded by the issue of land ownership. Amasa Lyman and Charles C. Rich held the legal title to the rancho which had been bought from the Lugos in 1851, but they also were responsible for the sizable debt which

had been incurred. Although some money had been raised to help alleviate this financial obligation, resources often did not materialize quickly enough and the apostles found themselves forced to borrow additional funds to pay on the mortgage. Money was predominantly obtained through banking houses in San Francisco, along with occasional contributions from church members. But the debt continued to mount as interest was added to the principal.

Lyman and Rich had planned to sell individual lots for a sufficient return to meet the mortgage, but this dream turned into a nightmare in 1853 when the United States Land Commission decided to reduce the size of the original land grant. Not only did this diminish the potential profit from land sales for the apostles, but it also freed several thousand acres of surrounding property to homesteaders at much cheaper prices than Charles C. Rich and Amasa Lyman could afford to compete with. The Land Commission had allowed the two men to chose which sections they would keep, but they were indecisive as they tried to assess which tracts were most salable. Their slowness caused some disgruntled settlers to accuse them of withholding the land for speculative purposes.

Tensions grew as individuals began to confront Rich and Lyman on land-related issues. During 1856, one year after the Van Leuven and Grouard political issue, an apostate Mormon, Jerome Benson, refused to vacate some property to which the apostles had chosen to lay claim. Benson had arrived at San Bernardino a short time previously from Salt Lake City. He came to southern California as a known dissident, and the local leaders did not welcome him to their community.[17]

When Lyman and Rich quoted him inflated land prices at the Mormon rancho, Benson selected some other property supposedly outside of their control. However, he was later informed that he was trespassing on the apostles' holdings and threatened with eviction. Benson stubbornly refused to leave, fortified his house, rallied the support of other disconcerted individuals, including Van Leuven, who was now completely out of harmony with the San Bernardino church leaders, and vowed to resist any attempt to remove him from the land. Apostle Rich wisely counseled the Mormons to stay calm and avoid any aggression, thus depriving the opposition of any confrontation. Eventually Benson chose to vacate the property and settle on an unencumbered piece of land.[18]

Even prior to the Benson case, the community peace of San Bernardino was very shaky. In August 1855, Richard Hopkins bemoaned the fact that "[t]here is not the same spirit here as formerly." The situation steadily worsened and by the year's end he observed: "Apostasy is daily becoming more evident [and] men who apparently labored zealously in the Church are turning against [it]."[19] Among the former stalwarts whose defection so disturbed Hopkins were Robert M. Smith, a high-ranking local churchman, and Henry G. Sherwood, a former civic official from Nauvoo and Salt Lake City. Dissatisfaction over the distribution of land and stifled political ambitions were fueled by internal dissent and the growth of the non-Mormon minority in San Bernardino County. The degree to which these factors, particularly politics and apostasy, resembled the tragic days of Nauvoo, Illinois, prior to the murder of Joseph Smith and the forced removal of the Latter-day Saints from that area, was noted in a letter which Albert Carrington of Salt Lake City had received from an acquaintance in southern California. Carrington's correspondent had informed him in late 1855 that conditions in San Bernardino were "just half way between Carthage and Warsaw."[20]

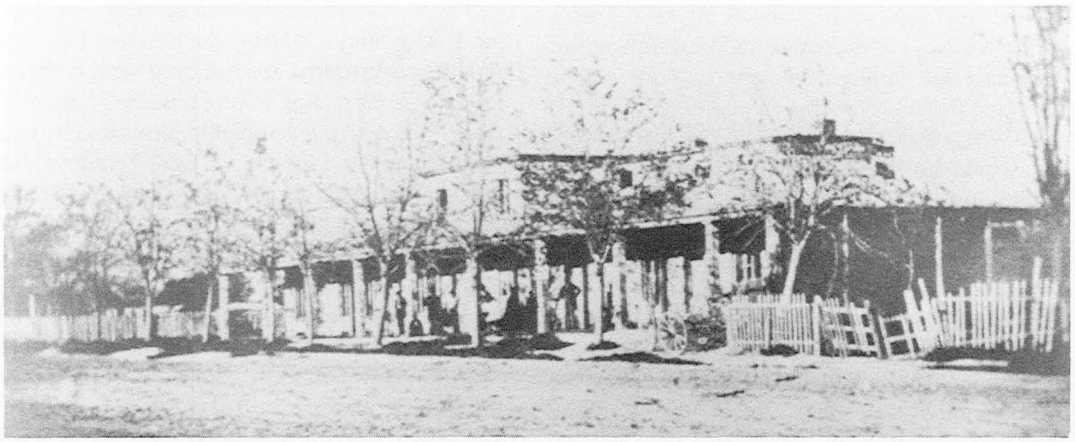
III.

The last days of the Mormon colony at San Bernardino were marked by financial difficulties due to the still unpaid ranch debt, political factionalism, and steadily growing apostasy. Charles C. Rich reflected his concern and disappointment in letters written to members of his family in Utah during 1855-56. In reference to financial matters he wrote, "Times is Verry [sic] bad in this country." He later observed that "there is nothing that would be more congenial to my feelings than to be placed in the midst of Salt Lake Valley."[21] The writings of Apostle Rich during this period continually showed him to be a discouraged and homesick man. Amasa Lyman's correspondence with Brigham Young exhibited similar disillusionment:

> In relation to our strength here we are rather weaker in righteousness than in numbers. [T]he constant influance [sic] of discordant feelings is but calculated to increase an evil already in existence to a great degree.[22]

As Lyman described the situation in 1855, apostasy and contention were firmly rooted at San Bernardino. And while some of this disaffection can be traced to politics or the land issue, several of the residents seem to have arrived in southern California with a disposition given to discontent.

the community, Ellen Pratt McGary, mentioned the "opposers" of polygamy as a difficulty at San Bernardino. And after the final departure of the Mormon colonists in 1857, many of those who chose to stay at San Bernardino soon became associated with the Reorganized Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints, a splinter group which had refused to follow Brigham Young to Utah largely over the issue of plural marriage.[24] As had happened to the Mormons earlier at Nauvoo, Illinois, and other Midwestern locations, internal dissent spurred by a variety of reasons eventually became a leading factor in the collapse of the San Bernardino community.



Steele's Photo Service, San Bernardino, CA

Residence of Amasa Lyman, 1863. This impressive two story structure included apartments for each of his five wives and their children.

While the sources for a lack of fidelity with church principles were many, personal interests (whether focused upon economic gain or political ambition) and a distaste for Brigham Young or of plural marriage seem to have been major issues. And it seems possible that the Utah church leaders may have actually encouraged disenchanted individuals to migrate to San Bernardino. The church hierarchy seemed, by the mid-1850s, to regard the community as a magnet which attracted the undesirable elements of Mormondom, and they were happy to part with such individuals. For example, Amasa Lyman mentioned that Charles Crismon, an eventual apostate in southern California, had been a problem in Salt Lake City as well.[23] A female resident of

By the spring of 1856 it was apparent that the tenure of the Latter-day Saints in southern California was drawing to a disappointing conclusion. Internal dissent, external opposition, and the distressing economic state of the settlement had rendered the San Bernardino colony an untenable extension of Salt Lake City Mormonism. In March, Rich had begun to allude to the possibility of the two apostles' reassignment to another task — said to be a mission to Europe.[25] By this juncture such a new calling must have offered an attractive change of venue for the embattled churchmen. Clearly, Brigham Young had written off the California experiment as a failure. His anticipated withdrawal of Lyman and Rich was, unquestionably, an indication of that.

In the late summer of 1856 tensions mounted as the anti-Mormon forces actively sought to raise funds to publish a pamphlet which viciously attacked the church. This work, allegedly written by an apostate Mormon, Quartus Sparks, in collaboration with others, played upon the supposed threat of Mormon political power and its influence upon San Bernardino County elections. It encouraged the local citizenry to promote a "new order" of government free from Latter-day Saint dominance. The document abounded with charges of theocracy and reminded its readers that in the Utah Territory "there are no political conventions, mass meetings, or Caucuses." In short, a Mormon-controlled political system was said to lack all the trappings of democracy. The aborted 1855 candidacies of Grouard and Van Leuven were recalled with the warning that under such a theocratic government as Mormonism encouraged, to "disobey council would be [to] forfeit . . . standing in the community."[26]

As if the problems at San Bernardino were not bad enough, Charles Rich and Amasa Lyman received their official recalls to Salt Lake City early in 1857. Mary Ann Rich later attributed the reassignment to the success of the colony. "[Since] everything was flourishing their special aid was no longer needed there," she wrote in her autobiography.[27] However, this belated statement by the wife of one of the principals was either dulled by the years or embellished for the sake of her husband's reputation, for it was a drastic misstatement of the true conditions at San Bernardino in 1857.

IV.

At their final church conference before departing southern California, the two apostles addressed the pressing concerns which still faced the local Mormons. Charles C. Rich made the formal announcement of a forthcoming "mission to Europe" and then remarked upon the lack of unity which plagued San Bernardino. Amasa Lyman, in his farewell message to the congregation, reminded them:

> We told you then [in 1851] . . . that if opposition and persecution came upon us, that it would originate right in our midst; you know whether it has been so or not. To those that had the ability without the disposition to aid the cause, we have not but pity.
>
> You [were] not here to build up a city with a certain number of inhabitants. You [were] here to serve God.[28]

With this rehearsal of the causes for failure, which specifically included internal opposition and disobedience, Lyman washed his hands of the San Bernardino colony.

The further erosion of Latter-day Saint influence in southern California which followed the removal of Lyman and Rich, along with events in Utah related to the so-called Mormon War of 1857-58, completed the demise of the San Bernardino colony. During the fall of 1857 the federal government seemed bent on a confrontation with Brigham Young and the Utah Mormons. National public opinion, provoked by tales of polygamy and sedition in Utah Territory, had forced President James Buchanan to dispatch troops of the United States Army to quell the assumed rebellion in the Rocky Mountains.

Based upon their previous experience in the Midwest, the Mormons of Utah expected the worst from the rapidly escalating military threat. This perception of the Utahns ultimately caused the San Bernardino Saints additional concerns. In August 1857, a combined force of Mormon militiamen and their Indian allies unadvisedly attacked a civilian wagon train at Mountain Meadows in southern Utah. The perpetrators of the incident mistakenly believed the party to be an advance group of the U.S. Army come to destroy the Latter-day Saints.[29]

The repercussions of this "Mountain Meadows Massacre" were swift and final in San Bernardino. When the news reached southern California the apostates and anti-Mormons quickly seized hold of the potentially-volatile issue. Throughout October 1857, the local Mormons reported fears of imminent violence. As one resident of San Bernardino lamented, "[the] day of trouble for the Saints in this land appears to be nearby." The *Los Angeles Star*, once friendly toward the California Mormon community, now began to suggest that the Mountain Meadows atrocity was the result of "corrupt and bloodthirsty" Mormon leaders.[30]

Increasing tensions at San Bernardino along with a strong desire on Brigham Young's part

to reunite all western Mormons in order to defend the kingdom from outside invaders led to a November 1857 recall of the southern California Latter-day Saints to Utah. The instructions received from Salt Lake City at that time bid them to return with all possible haste. The Utah War had finished what the removal of the apostles several months earlier had inaugurated, as the Mormon church completely gave up on the San Bernardino colonization project. As the faithful Saints prepared to abandon yet another home, many were forced to sell their property for a "mere trifle." At the end of November, Richard Hopkins, who had acted as scribe through the final days of the colony, reported:

> A large number of Saints have sold out, intending to leave for Utah. The outsiders [non-Mormons] are purchasing our property at very reduced rates. They expect our people to take whatever is offered.[31]

CONCLUSION

The Mormon settlement at San Bernardino, California, had fallen as a victim of internal disharmony which eventually led to external persecution, as well as neglect by the church authorities in Salt Lake City. In a society such as Mormonism, approval and active participation of the religious hierarchy were a fundamental part of success. Yet by the mid-1850s it would appear that the powers of Mormonism had chosen to allow the San Bernardino colony to drift with the tides. The recall of Amasa Lyman and Charles C. Rich certainly doomed the effort as it removed any direct link with the Salt Lake City authorities and, in truth, seemed to say that San Bernardino had become expendable. The weakening of institutional sponsorship had developed almost from the outset as Brigham Young began to conclude that many who went to southern California were less-than-valiant Saints.

As the hopes for the colony began to collapse because of debt and political rivalry, its chances for success also diminished. The similarity of problems at San Bernardino with previous hard times at Nauvoo, Illinois, and elsewhere must certainly have been clear to those who had been at both places. The forementioned Carrington letter which assessed the southern California situation in light of the Illinois nightmare of the 1840s said much about perceptions of San Bernardino. By the time that they were recalled in 1857, the more devout San Bernardino Saints must have felt relief to be leaving. Henry G. Boyle, who was one of these stalwarts, observed at the time that the locale had gotten to be "a den of Apostates, thieves, drunkards, Methodists, and every kind of foul character."[32]

In the final analysis, the Mormon colony at San Bernardino must be judged a failure. The expected use of the port of San Pedro as a gateway to Zion never truly materialized. And any missionary successes generated by the southern California colonists must have been negated by the loss of souls through apostasy. In fact, the only apparent beneficiary of the undertaking seems to have been the Reorganized Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints, which apparently claimed many of the San Bernardino Mormons who refused to obey Young's recall order. Politics, the land issue, and apostasy, combined with hierarchical neglect and local issues in the Utah Territory, finally killed the 1850s Mormon colony in southern California.

NOTES

1. *The Western Standard* (San Francisco, CA), April 17, 1857.

2. *Los Angeles Star* (Los Angeles, CA), July 5, 1851. See also *Harper's New Monthly Magazine* IV (December 1851-May 1852): 192.

3. While this study will pinpoint reasons for the settlement of southern California other than simply the geographical expansion of the Mormon domain, such a thesis has been skillfully presented for over forty years. See Milton R. Hunter, "The Mormon Corridor," *The Pacific Historical Review* VIII (June 1939): 190-92; Leonard J. Arrington, *Great Basin Kingdom: An Economic History of the Latter-day Saints* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1958), p. 86; and, for a contrary view, Eugene E. Campbell, "Brigham Young's Outer Cordon — A Reappraisal," *Utah Historical Quarterly* 41 (Summer 1973): 220-25.

4. See Jane Shipps, *Mormonism: The Story of a New Religious Tradition* (Urbana, IL: University of Illinois Press, 1985), p. 52; James B. Allen and Glen M. Leonard, *The Story of the Latter-day Saints* (Salt Lake City, UT: Deseret Book, 1976), p. 312.

5. James Henry Rollins, Reminiscences (c. 1888), Spring 1851, Historical Department of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, Archives, Salt Lake City (hereafter cited as LDS Archives).

6. See Edward Leo Lyman, "The Demise of the San Bernardino Mormon Community, 1851-1857," *Southern California Quarterly* LXV (Winter 1983): 326.

7. For Young's comment, see Hubert Howe Bancroft, *Works*, Volume XXVI, *History of Utah 1540-1886* (San Francisco, CA: The History Company, 1889), p. 320.

8. See Joseph S. Wood, "The Mormon Settlement in San Bernardino, 1851-1857" (Ph. D. dissertation, University of Utah, 1967), p. 56. For Lyman's statement concerning the Chino Ranch, refer to Brigham Young Papers, Incoming Correspondence-Amasa Lyman, July 30, 1851, LDS Archives.

9. Roy Elmer Whitehead, *Lugo: A Chronicle of Early California* (Redlands, CA: San Bernardino County Museum Association, 1978), pp. 372 and 378.

10. Brigham Young Papers, Incoming Correspondence-Amasa Lyman, February 14, 1852; quotation in Manuscript History of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, June 25, 1852, LDS Archives.

11. [Richard R. Hopkins], Journal of the San Bernardino Branch of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, July 20, 1852, LDS Archives. Hereafter cited as Hopkins, Journal.

12. Conway B. Sonne, *Saints on the Seas: A Maritime History of Mormon Migration 1830-1890*, p. 168.

13. Hopkins, Journal, April 6, 1852.

14. See Klaus J. Hansen, *Quest for Empire: The Political Kingdom of God and the Council of Fifty in Mormon History* (Lincoln, NE: University of Nebraska Press, 1974. Reprint of the 1970 ed. published by Michigan State University Press, East Lansing; with a new preface by the author.), Chapter III. Also helpful is D. Michael Quinn, "The Council of Fifty and Its Members, 1844-1945," *Brigham Young University Studies* 20 (Winter 1980): 163-97.

15. Henry G. Boyle, Diary, April 23, 1855, LDS Archives.

16. Regarding politically-related problems for Midwestern Mormons, see Warren A. Jennings, "The Expulsion of the Mormons from Jackson County, Missouri," *Missouri Historical Review* LXIV (October 1969): 41-42; Richard L. Bushman, "Mormon Persecutions in Missouri, 1833," *Brigham Young University Studies* 3 (Autumn 1960): 13-18; and Kenneth W. Godfrey, "Causes of Mormon Non-Mormon Conflict in Hancock County, Illinois, 1839-1846" (Ph.D. dissertation, Brigham Young University, 1967), pp. 45-53.

17. Lyman, "The Demise of the San Bernardino Mormon Community," pp. 324-25.

18. [Andrew Jensen] Manuscript History of San Bernardino, March 4-March 29, 1856, LDS Archives. Hereafter cited as Jensen, History. Much of this history of the colony was actually excerpted from the Hopkins' journal.

19. Hopkins, Journal, August 17, 1855 and November 28, 1855.

20. Charles C. Rich Papers, Incoming Correspondence, December 31, 1855, LDS Archives. Carthage was the county seat of Hancock County, Illinois, and the site of Joseph Smith's assassination, while Warsaw had been a hotbed of anti-Mormonism during the later Nauvoo period.

21. Charles Coulsen Rich, Letters, August 1, 1855 and June 1, 1856, LDS Archives.

22. Brigham Young Papers, Incoming Correspondence-Amasa Lyman, January 8, 1855.

23. On Charles Crismon, see Brigham Young Papers, Incoming Correspondence-Amasa Lyman, March 21, 1854. In regard to the possible Mormon church encouragement of the disaffected relocating to southern California, see Lyman, "The Demise of San Bernardino Mormon Community," pp. 326-28. Dr. Lyman and the author have discussed this likelihood on several occasions and we both have concluded that it is a real possibility.

24. For Ellen Pratt McGary's comment, see S. George Ellsworth, *Dear Ellen: Two Mormon Women and Their Letters* (Salt Lake City, UT: University of Utah Press, 1974), pp. 36-37. Congregational records for the San Bernardino Branch of the Reorganized Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints have identified several individuals or their descendants who most certainly were first affiliated with the original Utah Mormons who settled San Bernardino (see Minutes

of Southern California District 1876-1887, Local Conference Record #26, Archives, Reorganized Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints, Independence, Missouri). Among the notable surnames recorded in these RLDS records were Sparks and Van L[e]uven.

25. Jensen, History, March 16, 1856.

26. "Mormon Politics and Policy: Political and Judicial Acts of the Mormon Authorities in San Bernardino, California," photostatic copy at the Henry E. Huntington Library, San Marino, CA. See also, CA. See also, Jensen, History, August 8, 1856, for references to the pamphlet and its authorship.

27. Mary Ann Rich, Autobiography (n.d.), 30, LDS Archives.

28. *The Western Standard*, May 1, 1857.

29. See Juanita Brooks, *The Mountain Meadows Massacre* (Norman, OK: University of Oklahoma Press, 1970).

30. Jensen, History, November 27, 1857; and the *Los Angeles Star*, October 17, 1857.

31. Jensen, History, November 27, 1857.

32. Boyle, Diary, November 17 and December 4, 1857.

Western Imagery

Scenes of Locke

This issue of Western Imagery *has been designed to complement the article which follows, "Celadons and Sake Bottles," a work devoted to the history of the Asian community of Walnut Grove, California. In October 1915 fire swept through Walnut Grove, leaving its population homeless. Many of the residents began reconstruction, but one group of Chinese decided to move a mile upriver and build a new town of their own. At that time, under the California Alien Property Act, Chinese could not own land. However, a sympathetic rancher named George Locke offered to lease nine acres of his pear orchard to the small group of Chinese, on which they were permitted to build. The State Reclamation Code forbade building on the levees, so buildings were erected a few feet away with wooden ramps bridging the gap between the second story porches and the levee road. All the buildings faced Main Street, which was approximately thirty feet below. The streets of Locke were so narrow that the second story balconies on each side of the street almost touched. In the beginning the town was small and quiet with only ten families living over their businesses. The town continued to grow and prosper, and at its peak Locke consisted of nine grocery stores, six restaurants, a bakery, a post office, a town hall, a Chinese school, a church, and a theater. Locke flourished especially during prohibition, when outsiders discovered the town to be a safe and profitable place to establish speakeasies. When liquor was again legalized, the population dropped from 5,000 to 1,020 residents. Another factor in the population decline was that the offspring of the original Locke founders went away to college or fight in World War II and discovered a new life away from home. Today, the population is less than one hundred, but the town still looks much like it always has. Below is an alley scene from the 1930s, and opposite is a photograph of Main Street in the same period.*

California State Library

California State Library

California State Library

Another alley view, circa 1933.

Courtesy of Steve Simmons

Locke as it appears fifty years later. For additional, recent photographs of Locke and the surrounding delta area, see Delta Country, *by Richard Dillon and Steve Simmons (1982).*

CELADONS and SAKE BOTTLES

California State Library

Asian History Underground

Mary L. Maniery and Julia G. Costello

Chinese residences and gambling halls in Walnut Grove, circa 1930.

The small Sacramento delta community of Walnut Grove is well-known for its long residence by Chinese and Japanese immigrants. Typical of most historic ethnic communities in California, the contribution of these people to the development of the state has not been fully documented. In 1984, archaeologists were asked to monitor construction of a new sewer and water system through the modern streets of Walnut Grove.[1] Since physical remains of the past often contain information about people's daily lives that are not included in the written record, the archaeological work in Walnut Grove could provide an opportunity to study this historic Asian community from a new perspective. If artifacts from the town's Asian residents were still present on the site, additional insights into its cultural past could be brought to light.

Prior to the start of trenching, little optimism existed about finding significant amounts of artifacts. Well-traveled streets generally do not accumulate quantities of discarded items and no previous occupants are known to have lived in the area before the town was laid out in the 1870s or 1880s. As each day went by, however, evidence of the historic "Chinatown," its fires of 1915 and 1937, and rebuilding efforts were exposed by the backhoes. By the end of the trenching nearly 8,000 artifacts had been recovered. These physical objects offer unique glimpses into events and a way of life that ended over half a century ago.

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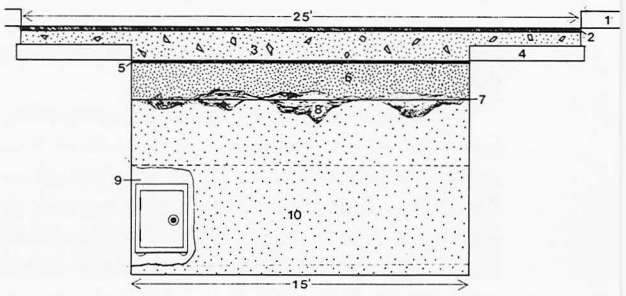
As the backhoes dug trench after trench down the sides and middle of each street, a pattern of soil layers was revealed. The asphalt layer on top marked the modern street paving. Six inches under the edges of this asphalt road a set of concrete sidewalks was found. These bordered a narrow, 15-foot-wide, oil-and-gravel-based road that had been topped with a thin asphalt covering. Newspaper accounts revealed that the streets in town were only fifteen feet wide when the 1937 fire swept through the area and that landowners subsequently planned to rebuild with wider streets to deter future fires from spreading so quickly.[2] The older, narrower road surface uncovered during the trenching was therefore identified as the street surface present at the time of the 1937 fire.

It was under this 1937 road surface that the vast majority of artifacts were found. Dense concentrations of Asian, American, and European ceramics, bottles, metal, and glass were frequently encountered. Most of these artifacts showed signs of having been burned: glass was often melted or fused and glazes on ceramics blistered. Some deeper deposits, encountered at depths up to five feet, were determined to be



1 SIDEWALK (ca. 1937–PRESENT)
2 STREET SURFACE (ca. 1937–1984)
3 STREET FILL (ca. 1937)
4 SIDEWALK (ca. 1915–1937)
5 STREET SURFACE (ca. 1915–1937)
6 STREET FILL (ca. 1915)
7 STREET SURFACE (ca. 1880–1915)
8 TRASH DEPOSITS (ca. 1915)
9 DEBRIS-FILLED ALCOVE OR TUNNEL (ca. 1915)
10 STERILE SOIL

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Courtesy of the authors

Typical stratigraphic profile of Walnut Grove streets.

alcoves or tunnels extending under the street from adjacent buildings. These remains dated to the destructive fire of 1915, a holocaust that resulted in a major physical and social reorganization of Walnut Grove.

Prior to the 1915 fire, the Chinese community was comprised of two factions from different regions of China: Chungshan and Sze Yup. After the fire, rather than rebuild the Chinatown with the Sze Yup immigrants, a group of Chungshan Chinese rented nine acres of land from George Locke one mile north of town. Their new settlement of Lockeport (later renamed Locke) was laid out near a boarding house, saloon, and gambling hall built in 1912 by three Chungshan men: Tin Sin Chan, Wing Chong Owyang and Yuen Lai Sing.[3] Locke is the last founded and now the only remaining Chinese town in California.

The 1915 fire also served as the impetus for the Walnut Grove Japanese to form a physically separate community from the Chinese. Since 1900, the growing Japanese population had moved into buildings of the already-established Chinatown, finding it difficult to buy or rent houses or land in other parts of Walnut Grove. But now, losing their homes to the fire, they laid out new streets and moved their businesses and residences to land rented from the Brown family one block north of the Chinatown area. Modern C Street marks the boundary between these two settlements.

The artifacts recovered during the archaeological work are therefore from the pre-1915 community of Walnut Grove when the Chungshan, Sze Yup, and Japanese immigrants were all residing in the same area of town. The charred remains of their structures and personal effects were not hauled away as in later fires, but instead many were dumped in the old streets to fill in potholes. With the rebuilding of the town, these artifacts were preserved under a new street surface.

The site of Walnut Grove was established in about 1851 as a boat landing by John Sharpe on what turned out to be a poorly traveled shipping route. The Chinese presence in the area began to grow with large-scale land reclamation in the delta in the late 1860s. Hundreds of Chinese laborers who were leaving the gold mines or railroad construction work became the major building force for the levees. These men worked under a contract labor system, where one English-speaking Chinese acted as foreman and interpreter, hiring and paying laborers, and over-seeing completion of the job. Lodging was usually provided by the developer at the job site, the foreman hired a cook, and the cost of board was deducted from each man's pay.[4]

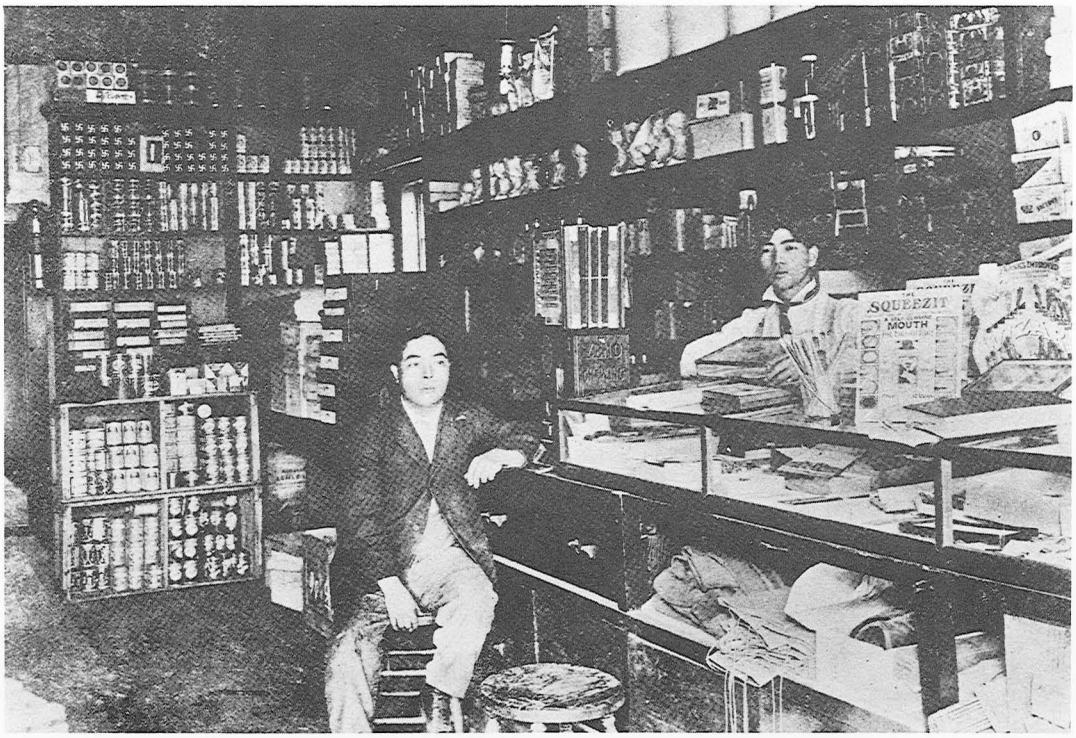
As farm lands were reclaimed, more Chinese began working in the delta as agricultural laborers, employed through the same contract system used for the levee construction crews. Others rented a few acres from Caucasian owners and became tenant farmers, hiring fellow countrymen to help plant and harvest fruits and vegetables for sale in Sacramento and Stockton. The 1870 census for Georgiana Township[5] included 592 Chinese: 250 levee workers, 296 ranch hands and farm laborers, 42 gardeners, and 4 cooks. By the late 1870s, Sharpe's Landing had become known as Walnut Grove.

The 1880 census for Georgiana Township shows an overall increase in numbers of Chinese to a population of 830 men and 1 woman. Such a sex ratio imbalance resulted from cultural traditions and various discriminatory laws. Eight hundred and one of the men enumerated in 1880 were working as laborers and farm helpers while the remainder were identified as fishermen, merchants, cooks and barbers.

The earliest written documentation of Chinese specifically in Walnut Grove is found in Sacramento County's 1882 assessment books where the May Soon Company is listed as owning $530 worth of property located on rented land. By 1887, six merchants were identified as dealing in imports and dry goods and two others owned horses and wagons.[6]

The Chinese population continued to increase during the 1890s; 1,086 are enumerated in Georgiana Township by 1900.[7] Increased demand for agricultural laborers and especially for workers in the newly-established canneries attracted many from the crowded urban Chinatowns where persecution against Asians was mounting. In the 1890s, four canneries were operating around Walnut Grove, hiring laborers through an English-speaking Chinese foreman, paralleling the contract system used with field workers.[8]

Additional businesses and boarding houses were constructed at Walnut Grove to serve the



Courtesy of the Sacramento Ethnic Survey Collection, City of Sacramento, Museum and History Division

Inside view of Inano Company General Merchandise and Hotel owned by Tatsuo Inano, Walnut Grove, circa 1910.

needs of this bustling population. Census records for 1900 indicate that Chinese-run businesses included three barber shops, fifteen stores, four restaurants, four shoemakers and two bookkeepers. There was also a laundry, three boarding houses, and a fish market. Other identified Chinese occupations included five cooks, two fruit packers, thirty-five laborers, one peddler, a baker, a broom factory owner, and twelve waiters. Community services were provided by an herbal doctor and two Buddist priests in the town's temple. Walnut Grove also reportedly had the largest chapter of the Bing Kung Tong (a Chinese fraternal society) on the west coast.[9]

Several gambling houses, saloons, and bordellos also thrived in Walnut Grove. In the absence of a traditional family life, the saloons and gambling houses served as social centers. Lottery tickets for a game called *pak-kop piu* (which survives in modern form as *keno*) were sold in some establishments and a drawing took place twice daily in the gambling houses. During the early 1900s, Walnut Grove was reputedly a waystation on the San Francisco-to-Sacramento opium run. Opium was used by many overseas Chinese to ease the pains of their daily labors and was commonly available at gambling houses.

The Chinese population in Walnut Grove, as well as in nearby Courtland, Isleton, and Rio Vista, continued to swell during the early decades of the twentieth century. The 1911 assessment records show that 41 Chinese owned property in Walnut Grove, twice as many as reported in 1899. This number had increased to 101 by 1915.[10] Employment was high and business thrived. One notable enterprise was a taxi service run by Au Fook: in 1915 he purchased a large Lincoln Continental and drove to San Francisco daily, picking up and dropping off passengers at various towns along the way, taking and filling produce orders, and delivering mail and packages along his route.[11]

Courtesy of the authors

Artifacts associated with pre-1915 Walnut Grove included these Chinese food storage containers and porcelain table wares.

Archaeological evidence of this community is found in the artifacts recovered from the 1915 fire deposits. Chinese sites in California and the West are usually distinguished by the abundance of items imported from China and by the similar repertoire of these artifacts on each site. The nearly 700 items associated with pre-1915 Walnut Grove consist of artifact types, forms, and decorative styles typically found on sites of "Overseas Chinese." Included are 294 fragments from porcelain bowls and plates, 372 pieces of stoneware food jars, 11 parts of opium tins, lamps, and pipe bowls, and 7 medicine bottles.

It was unusual for groups of nineteenth-century immigrants in the United States to rely heavily on products from their homeland for day-to-day necessities. There were several reasons, however, why the Chinese did not extensively use western-made items. As did some Eastern European immigrants, many viewed themselves as sojourners, working to send money home to their families and to provide for their own comfortable retirement. However, the Chinese considered themselves to be living in the land of the "barbarians" and generally had no desire to adopt foreign customs or to prolong their stay here longer than necessary. Overt prejudices against the group, limiting their opportunities for employment, also led them to plan to return to China.

Accordingly, the vast majority of immigrants had only minimal contact with American culture. In the delta region, many Chinese males lived in work camps or boarding houses, where interaction with Euroamericans was handled by an English-speaking foreman. Their isolation from local markets was enhanced by active and efficient Chinese trading companies and stores that supplied nearly all of their material needs. As a result, Chinese in California maintained their native culture to a degree unequaled by any other immigrant group.

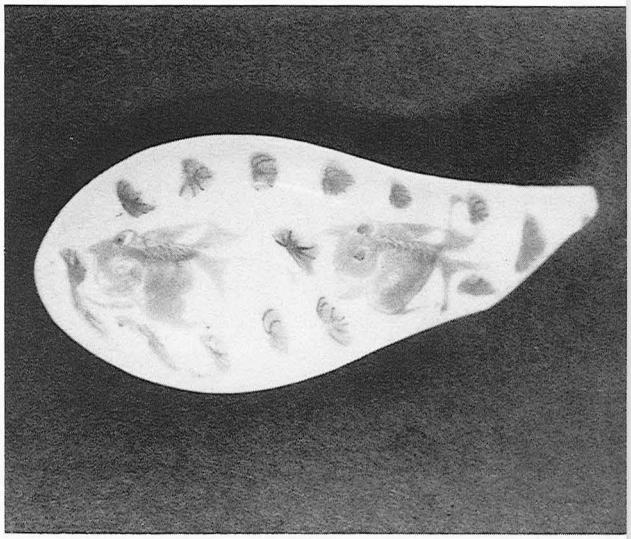
This cultural tenacity was present among the Walnut Grove Chinese residents and is reflected in the artifacts relating to food that dominate the

archaeological record. The abundance of stoneware food container fragments documents the massive and regular importation of edibles from China. Small and medium-sized round jars contained items such as preserved vegetables, preserved ginger, sweet gherkins, soy bean cheese, shrimp paste, candy, aniseeds, chopped garlic, preserved sliced turnips, green plums, preserved onions, and preserved fish. "Soy pots," with their distinctive spouts, also may have contained black vinegar or thick molasses. The globular-shaped ceramic wine bottles with their flaring rims held about four cups of popular rice wine. Wine also was imported in quantity in larger globular jars that also may have held soy sauce or vinegar. Large barrel-shaped jars held dried and preserved vegetables, eggs, and other commodities.[12] These imported foods were undoubtedly augmented by locally grown fruit and vegetables, poultry and available fish and mollusks.

The Chinese in Walnut Grove not only imported traditional foods, they prepared and served them as in their homeland; nearly all of their serving and eating dishes were imported, inexpensive porcelain wares. The distinctive glazes and simple hand decorations are typical of nineteenth-century Chinese sites. Decorative types included the blue, hand painted "Bamboo" motif, green celadon glazes, and the colorful overglaze decoration of the "Flowers of the Four Seasons." Vessel forms represented were rice bowls, tea and wine cups, plates, ceramic spoons, and large serving bowls. Large teapots, both plain and decorated in underglaze blue or colorful overglaze enamel, were also recovered at Walnut Grove.[13]

Urban Chinese communities, such as Walnut Grove, also contain a range of ceramic types not usually found in rural work camps. Excavations revealed relatively large numbers of porcelain serving bowls and plates of various sizes with a wide variety of decorative motifs. Porcelain spoons were more common and appeared undecorated, with floral overglaze patterns, and with brightly painted fish. Other, more elaborate items included dishes for holding flower bulbs, ink boxes for use with stamps, and decorative architectural elements.

Social diversions for these sojourners at Walnut Grove were found in the popular gambling houses. Archaeologically, gambling is represented by small, glass button-like pieces that were used as gaming markers. A *pak-kop piu* lottery book and lottery betting sheet were found in an abandoned building at Walnut Grove. Fragments of opium pipes, lamps, and tins commonly found on both urban and rural Chinese sites, were also recovered.



Courtesy of the authors

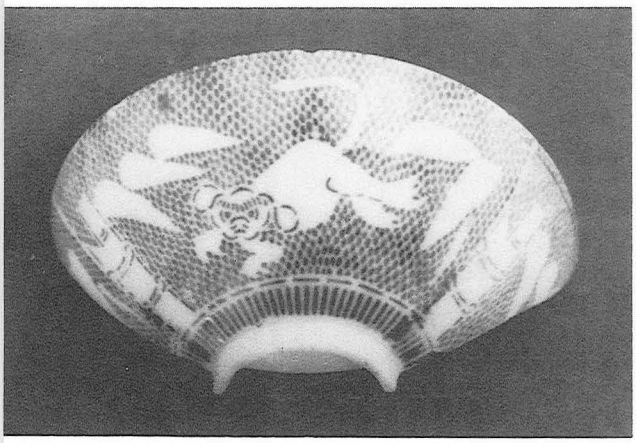
Chinese porcelain spoon fragment decorated with an orange fish with green eyes and green water plants.

The population base of Walnut Grove's Chinatown changed around 1900 when large numbers of Japanese moved into the community. In 1868, Emperor Meiji's Charter Oath officially ended a two-century old isolation policy in Japan, resulting in significant numbers immigrating to the United States after 1890.[14] By 1900, 24,000 were in the United States with about 10,000 located in California.

Census records for 1900 enumerate 317 Japanese living in Georgiana Township, primarily employed on farms and as truck gardeners where they compensated for the labor shortage resulting from the Chinese Exclusion Acts of 1882 and 1892. They were also identified working as ranch hands, laborers, merchants, barbers, shoe repairmen, and even as dairymen.[15]

Courtesy of the authors

Japanese sake bottles and porcelain table wares excavated from the 1915 fire deposits.



Courtesy of the authors

Example of Japanese blue transferprint porcelain. This bowl fragment is decorated with a dog and bamboo design.

Unlike the Chinese, many Japanese intended to stay in the United States. Often beginning as laborers, they saved wages to lease their own land. Like the Chinese, this group reclaimed swamp land and tule-covered islands near the river by applying traditional irrigation and agricultural techniques. These Japanese tenant farmers usually prospered, with some hiring additional countrymen to work on their labor-intensive farms. By the early 1900s several Walnut Grove-based farmers, such as Y. Horiuchi and K. Hotta, were planting 1,000-acre tracts with asparagus and beans, crops that became prime money-makers in the area.[16] Families and "picture brides" were commonly sent for once economic security was attained.[17]

As more Japanese laborers came to the delta to work, businesses owned by their countrymen were established in Walnut Grove's Chinatown. The 1900 census itemizes two boarding houses, three stores, a bath house and barber shop run by Japanese. By 1910, dry goods, drug, mercantile and grocery stores, restaurants and hotels were also in operation. The 1911 Sacramento

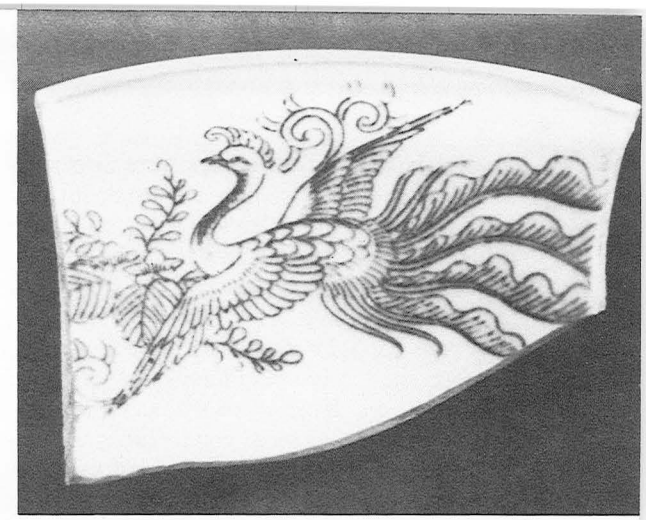
County assessment records show that 29 Japanese owned property in Walnut Grove, called *Kawa Shima* (''river'' or ''delta'' town). By this time shoe stores, fruit stores, fish and meat markets also operated within the community. The number owning property in town, excluding real estate, increased to 49 by 1915.[18]

The Japanese presence in Walnut Grove became increasingly evident as artifact deposits were exposed by the backhoes. The abundance and variety of imported ceramics were considerably larger than anticipated. The types of ceramics recovered were hitherto largely undocumented. Little archaeological work has been conducted on Japanese sites in the United States, and published art history studies of the ceramics rarely include the inexpensive mass-produced ''folk'' wares of the late-nineteenth and early-twentieth centuries. A catalogue of these ceramics from Walnut Grove should be valuable for future investigations of Japanese material culture of this time period.[19]

Like the Chinese, the Japanese used their traditional ceramics for serving and eating meals. Nearly two hundred fragments of Japanese table porcelains were recovered from the 1915 fire deposits. Although some items were undoubtedly imported by the immigrants themselves, the quantity of wares suggests that trade links had been established between exporters in Japan and merchants in Walnut Grove.

Seventy-six percent of these ceramics were decorated with transferprinted as opposed to hand-printed patterns. Printing on pottery was developed in England in the mid-eighteenth century and involves transferring a design from an engraved metal plate to a ceramic vessel via a thin piece of paper. This technique was introduced into Japan following the end of that country's isolation in 1868. As with other western technologies and western culture in general, the new method was rapidly and enthusiastically adopted. Potters, especially around Seto, turned from hand-painted decorations to the transferprinted designs that became quite popular during the *Meiji* Period (1868-1912).[20]

This cultural and technological revolution in Japan is clearly evidenced by artifacts found in Walnut Grove. The numerous rice bowls, serving bowls, plates, cups, and sake decanters were found in a surprising array of transferprinted patterns. Blue was the predominant color but green



Courtesy of the authors

Japanese porcelain bowl fragment with blue transferprint of the Phoenix-like hoo *bird, associated with the Empress and traditionally pictured with a branch of the* paulownia *tree.*

was also occasionally found. Printed designs incorporated traditional symbols such as the crane, tortoise, carp, lion dog, and the Phoenix-like *hoo* bird. The pine, plum, and bamboo combination, called the ''Three Friends,'' was often used, as well as a variety of blossoms and foliage. Plates were found with stylized Chinese poems, and two bowls contained symbols related to a girls' spring festival. Sake cups with military emblems attest to the nationalistic feeling that enveloped Japan around the turn of the century.

Older, more traditional ceramics were represented by fragments of large, brightly hand-painted Imari platters which reached diameters of nearly 2.5 feet. These were probably family items brought with the immigrants from Japan. Quite popular and inexpensive before World War I, the large platters would have been used to serve food and drink to groups of people either in public inns and restaurants, or to gatherings at home.

A steady flow of goods from Japan to Walnut Grove is suggested by the enormous numbers of white porcelain sake bottles found. Nearly 4000 fragments of wheel-thrown, half-liter and liter-sized bottles were recovered, accounting for over half of the total number of artifacts recovered at Walnut Grove. A few of these fragments were marked with the names of commercial distilleries in Japan, such as *Hon Kano*, located in Nada, a town well known for producing excellent sake.

Several Japanese glass bottles were also identified, including one from the Sakuro Beer Company, bottled in Moji, Japan.[21] Embossing on a medicine bottle manufactured in Osaka described the contents as "pills for the mind" or "healthy brain pills."

Vessels for importing food, so common on Chinese sites, were not among the imported Japanese items. Japanese in Walnut Grove may have been using Chinese commodities or simply relying more completely on local produce. One jar identifying "Japan Rice" was produced in Japan and imported by Iwakami and Co. of San Francisco, a firm in business from circa 1906 to 1910.[22] Another Japanese entrepreneur was represented by several "Sunrise Soda Works" bottles, a product produced by S. Tokunaga in Sacramento at least as early as 1908.[23]

The way of life represented by this collection of artifacts was interrupted by the devastating Walnut Grove fire of October 7, 1915. Whipped by strong delta winds, the blaze destroyed over 85 buildings in a three-block-square area, reducing the Chinatown to rubble. The cause of the fire is unclear. The *Sacramento Bee* attributed it to a Japanese woman whose oil stove became enflamed while she was cooking fish, although the *Sacramento Union* identified the cause as "the introduction of a lighted cigarette into a cleaning establishment."[24]

Walnut Grove businessman Lee Bing, also part owner of the *Shang Loy* ("Come Often") gambling house, recalled that the 1915 fire burned so fast and hot there was little time to save possessions. He managed to salvage some clothing, a table, a chair, and his wife's jade jewelry. He also removed two buckets of coins from the safe in the *Shang Loy* office, placing the buckets on top of the levee and covering them with a blanket before returning to the fire to try and save more items. When intense heat, smoke and confusion from the fire drove him away, he hurried back to retrieve his buckets, only to find that his $4,000.00 in coins had been stolen.[25]

Evidence of additional losses from the fire was indicated by the archaeological discovery of eight, large floor-safes. These were found in subterranean chambers as much as five feet beneath the modern streets. Persistent rumors about many Chinese communities have insisted that secret tunnels and hide-a-ways were developed to conceal valuables and facilitate clandestine activities. The archaeological work in Walnut Grove demonstrated that some truth may exist in these rumors: some Asian residents apparently excavated alcoves and tunnels under their buildings, extending out into adjacent streets. Lined with brick or timbers, they contained safes and perhaps other valuables.

Hopes that exotic treasures had been sealed in the safes evaporated in January, 1985, when experts from a firm in Sacramento opened two of them to reveal empty wooden shelves and metal cash boxes. The hard working Asian community had not neglected to retrieve its valuables from the fire.

Courtesy of the authors

Japanese clear glass medicine bottle. The molded figure and characters shown on this side of the bottle read "healthy brain pills" or "pills for the mind." Characters on the back side appear to translate as "made in Osaka by Tampei Shokai."

The rebuilding of Walnut Grove led to major physical and social changes in the community. The Japanese relocated to an area one block north of the old "Chinatown" where they reside today. The Chungshan Chinese, led by Lee Bing, moved north and, as related earlier, founded the town of Locke, decreasing the recorded Chinese businesses in Walnut Grove from 101 in 1916 to 48 in 1917.[26] This setback proved to be short-lived, however, as the population of Walnut Grove grew from 900 in 1921 to over 1,200 in 1927.[27] Part of this total included new Filipino immigrants who had begun to augment the farm labor force in the delta. Chinese and Japanese residents had their separate fraternal organizations, theaters and schools, in addition to stores and other commercial services. Today, local townspeople vividly remember the 1920s and 1930s period in Walnut Grove for its businesses and social events, as well as for the gambling halls, brothels and opium.

Population growth declined slightly during the Depression and finally plummeted when another fire swept through the town in November, 1937. Confined to the Chinese section of Walnut Grove, the conflagration destroyed over 80 homes and businesses, took 4 lives, and left over 500 homeless.[28] Although some Chinese establishments were rebuilt, the disaster initiated a permanent decline in this population. The Japanese in Walnut Grove, however, maintained a productive community until World War II. Subjected to incarceration in detention camps, as were most California Japanese, many returned to their businesses in Walnut Grove following the war.

The old Chinese section of Walnut Grove is now occupied primarily by Filipino farm workers but still supports a branch of the Bing Kung Tong, a Chinese restaurant, saloon, barber shop and grocery, as well as several non-Asian-owned businesses. In the Japanese quarter of town there are two grocery stores, two barber shops, a shoe repair shop, drug store and a few other small businesses. In both sections of the Asian community empty residences, gambling halls and boarding houses stand, while gardens thrive on the empty lots.

The artifacts recovered from the excavations in Walnut Grove provide a unique glimpse into the history of this community and its pioneer Asian immigrants. Although Chinese and Japanese were present in the Central Valley in large numbers and were instrumental in developing the rich agricultural lands of the delta, their experiences are often poorly recorded in available documents. It is fortunate that details of the past can also be read from the fragments of porcelain teacups, ricebowls and sake bottles interred in the ground.

NOTES:

1. The Sacramento Housing and Redevelopment Agency contracted with Public Anthropological Research of Sacramento to monitor the construction and conduct necessary archaeological field work.

2. *Sacramento Union* (November 10, 1937, p. 1., col. 2); *Sacramento Bee* (November 9, 1937, p. 9, col. 3; November 10, 1937, p. 9, col. 3).

3. Peter C. Y. Leung, *One Day, One Dollar* (El Cerrito, CA: Chinese/Chinese American History Project, 1984), p. 28; Chinese Historical Society of America, *A Recommendation for the Town of Locke* (San Francisco, CA: Chinese Historical Society, 1976), p. 1.

4. Leung, pp. 15-16; Thomas Chinn, editor, *A History of the Chinese in California: A Syllabus* (San Francisco, CA: Chinese Historical Society of America, 1966), p. 57.

5. Georgiana Township included present-day Walnut Grove, Isleton and Courtland. Population statistics were taken from the *Ninth Census of the United States of America* (Washington, D. C.: Government Printing Office, 1870).

6. Sacramento County, Assessment of Property Tax Book, 1882 and 1887 (on file at Sacramento Museum and History Center, Sacramento).

7. *Twelfth Census of the United States of America* (Washington, D. C.: Government Printing Office, 1900).

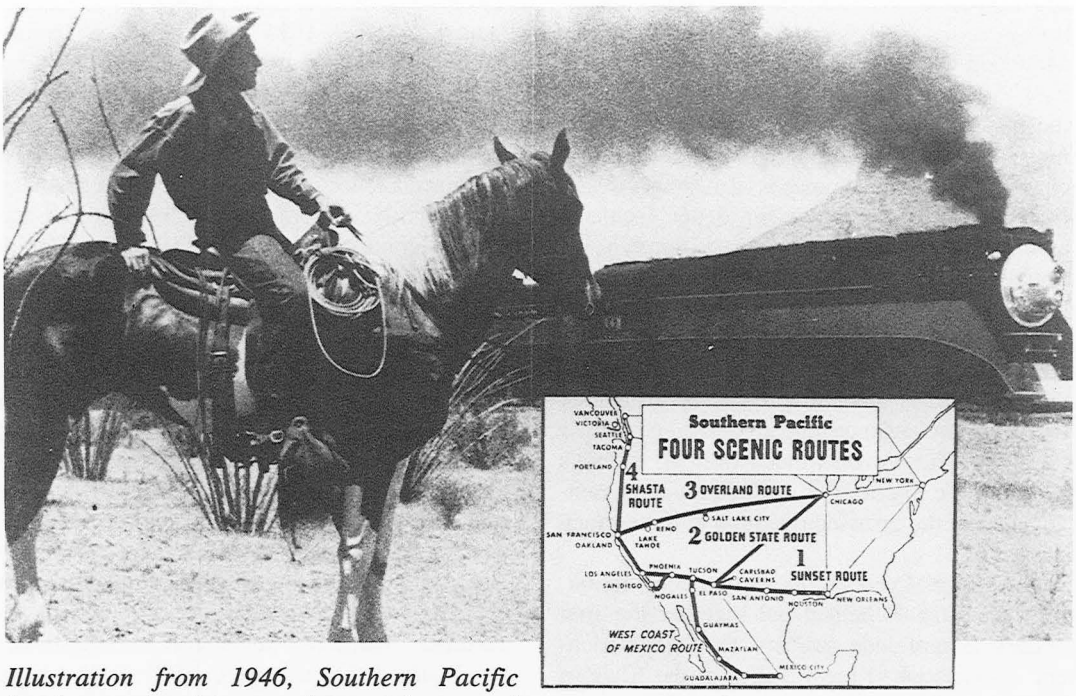
8. George Chu, "Chinatowns in the Delta: The Chinese in Sacramento and San Joaquin Delta," *California Historical Society Quarterly* 49 (March 1970): 21-37. Leung, pp. 16-17. For a general history of Chinese in California, refer to Chinn.

9. *Twelfth Census*, 1900. Chu, p. 22-24. *Sacramento Union* (November 10, 1937, p. 2, col. 5).
10. Sacramento County, Assessment Book, 1911. These figures excluded real property. Overt discrimination and later the 1913 and 1920 Alien Land Laws, prohibiting aliens ineligible for citizenship from owning or leasing land, forced Chinese and Japanese to rent land from Caucasians for their business establishments or to place any real estate holdings in the names of American-born children.
11. Sylvia Sun Minnick, "History of the Chinese in the Sacramento Area," unpublished manuscript in possession of the author (no date): 28.
12. Identification of foodstuffs primarily from John W. Olsen, "A Study of Chinese Ceramics Excavated in Tucson," *Kiva* 44 (1978): 1-50.
13. Teapots are commonly found on early work camp sites as tea was reportedly drunk in quantity throughout the day. Chinn, pp. 44-45. Stan Steiner, *Fusang: The Chinese Who Built America* (New York, NY: Harper Colophon Books, 1979), p. 130.
14. Donald Teruo Hata, Jr., and Nadine Ishitani Hata, "Japanese Americans and World War II," *The Forum Series* (St. Charles, MO: Forum Press, 1974).
15. *Twelfth Census*, 1900.
16. Japanese Association, *Japanese Contribution to California's Agricultural Development* (Sacramento, CA: Japanese Association, 1918), p. 14. Japanese contributions in agriculture are also discussed in K. Kawakami, *The Real Japanese Question* (New York, NY: Macmillan Company, 1921), p. 45-61; Emil Bunje, editor, *The Story of Japanese Farming in California* (Berkeley, CA: University of California for the U. S. Works Progress Administration Project, 1957); and Jean Pajus, *The Real Japanese California* (Berkeley, CA: James J. Gillick Co., 1937), pp. 87-9.
17. California State Board of Control, *California and the Oriental: Japanese, Chinese and Hindus* (Sacramento, CA: California State Printing Office, 1920), pp. 135-55.
18. Sacramento County, Assessment Book, 1911. Bunje, pp. 10-13.
19. A descriptive catalogue of the recorded artifacts is being published by the Institute of Archaeology, University of California at Los Angeles, as an *Occasional Paper* entitled "A Catalogue of Artifacts recovered from the 1915 Asian Community of Walnut Grove, California" by Julia G. Costello and Mary L. Maniery.
20. Kumata Ryoji, *Meiji Imban no Sometsuke* ("Transferprint Blue and White of the Meiji Era") (Tokyo: Kogeishuppan, 1974) [In Japanese]. Irene Stitt, *Japanese Ceramics of the Last 100 Years* (New York, NY: Crown Publishers, 1974), p. 97.
21. Jane Armstrong, "The Lovelock Bottles." In *Archaeological and Historical Studies at Ninth and Amherst, Lovelock, Nevada*, E. Hattori, M. Rusco, D. Tuohy, editors (Nevada State Museum, 1979), pp. 199-250. Armstrong, personal communication (1984). Thayer, personal communication (1985).
22. Crocker-Langley Business Directory for San Francisco, 1905, 1908, 1909, 1910 (on file at California State Library, Sacramento).
23. Peter Schulz, Betty Rivers, Mark Hales, Charles Litzinger and Elizabeth McKee, "The Bottles of Old Sacramento: A Study of Nineteenth-Century Glass and Ceramic Retail Containers, Part 1," *California Archaeological Reports*, 20 (Sacramento, CA: State of California Department of Parks and Recreation, 1980), pp. 155-56.
24. *Sacramento Bee* (October 8, 1915), p. 1, col. 4.; *Sacramento Union* (October 7, 1915), p. 1, col. 2.
25. Jean Rossi, "Lee Bing: Founder of California's Historical Town of Locke," *Pacific Historian* 20 (Spring 1976): 351-65.
26. Sacramento County, Assessment Book, 1916, 1917.
27. Sanborn Fire Insurance Co. maps, Walnut Grove, California, 1921, 1927.
28. *Sacramento Union* (November 10, 1937, p. 1, col. 2); *Sacramento Bee* (November 9, 1937, p. 1, col. 4; November 11, 1937, p. 1, col. 2).

The authors acknowledge the interest, enthusiasm, and help received from residents of Walnut Grove, especially Mr. Jack Oda, Mr. Tosh "Mat" Matsuoko, Mrs. Shina Oda, and Mrs. Louise Suen. Identification of the Asian ceramics was graciously done by Clarence Shangraw and Yosiko Kakudo of the Asian Art Museum, San Francisco, and John E. Thayer, III, of the Peabody Museum of Art, Salem, MA. Dr. Nadine Ishitani Hata provided invaluable comments on the draft, as did the anonymous reviewer. The support received from the Sacramento Housing and Redevelopment Agency, in particular Carol Brannan, and Hans Kreutzberg of the State Office of Historic Preservation is appreciated. Tammara Ekness-Hoyle is thanked for the excellent illustrations and maps that appear in this article.

Western Railroads and the Dude Ranching Industry

Lawrence R. Borne



Courtesy California State Railroad Museum

Illustration from 1946, Southern Pacific brochure advertising southern Arizona and southwestern ranches.

In the last three decades of the nineteenth century a few ranches in the Dakotas, Wyoming, Montana and Colorado began accepting paying guests. Such western visitors were attracted to hunting big game, trout fishing, the adventure of the ranch life and beautiful scenery. The ranches where they stayed became known as dude ranches.[1] These travellers arrived by train but railroad officials paid them little notice since they were only a small fraction of the hordes of people headed west for a variety of reasons. The railroad officials were more concerned with passengers going to resorts developed by the railroads, especially those in or near the National Parks. In the twentieth century conditions changed, however, and railroad officials joined dude ranchers in a close alliance

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that endured for decades. This article will examine the relationship that developed between these two industries.

These were several factors that led to this close cooperation between the railroads and the dude ranches. First, the outbreak of World War I made European vacations for Americans nearly impossible; therefore, those still anxious to travel began to explore their own country more extensively.[2] At the same time the U. S. Department of the Interior had begun to promote the National Parks.[3] These two factors led many vacationers westward, and dude ranches grew in size and popularity. Most were in Wyoming, Montana, and Colorado, and many of these were concentrated around Yellowstone, Glacier and Rocky Mountain National Parks. People wanting to view these scenic areas often chose ranches near the parks, since they offered a quiet rural atmosphere that was increasingly popular in those chaotic times. Dude ranches also provided activities and the atmosphere for all age groups at a time when family togetherness and family vacations were being promoted.[4]

One other factor became decisive in generating greater railroad interest in the dude ranching business: the increase in automobile travel. In the early 1920s there was a sudden growth of travel by auto and a decline in railroad passenger business. These events made railroad officials aware of the importance of dude ranch passengers and of the growing potential of dude ranch business.[5]

After several years of increasing cooperation, railroad officials helped put together the first organization of dude ranchers, the Dude Ranchers' Association. Ernest Miller of the Elkhorn Ranch near Bozeman was one of the first to take concrete action. He convinced Max Goodsill, general passenger agent for the Northern Pacific (NP), that a ranch organization could be beneficial to both ranchers and railroads. Goodsill passed the idea on to A. B. Smith, the passenger traffic manager of the Northern Pacific. Smith then arranged a meeting of ranchers at the Bozeman Hotel for September 27 and 28, 1926. The NP sponsored the meeting, its officials assuming that an organized group would better promote increased passenger service.[6] In an interview with the *Bozeman Daily Chronicle* Smith stated that he and other railroad officials wanted people to see the grandeur of the Rockies, to learn about the traditions of the pioneers, and to appreciate the spirit of outdoor western life. They hoped to develop programs that would bring Wyoming and Montana to the forefront as vacation areas.[7]

This article also stated that the first purpose of the meeting was to establish cooperation among the railroad officials and ranchers. Approximately seventy ranchers from Montana and Wyoming attended the meeting. One of these, I. H. (Larry) Larom, owner of the Valley Ranch west of Cody, Wyoming, and originally from New York, was elected president of the newly-formed Dude Ranchers' Association (DRA). Twenty-six ranches were signed up as charter members at this 1926 meeting which created committees to deal with transportation, advertising, fish and game legislation and the writing of a constitution. Larom's selection as president at this meeting sponsored by a railroad official contained a touch of irony in that on his first visit west from New York in 1910, the railroad had simply let him off in the middle of the night at the foot of a water tank in western Wyoming.[8] The railroad attitude toward dudes had obviously changed considerably.

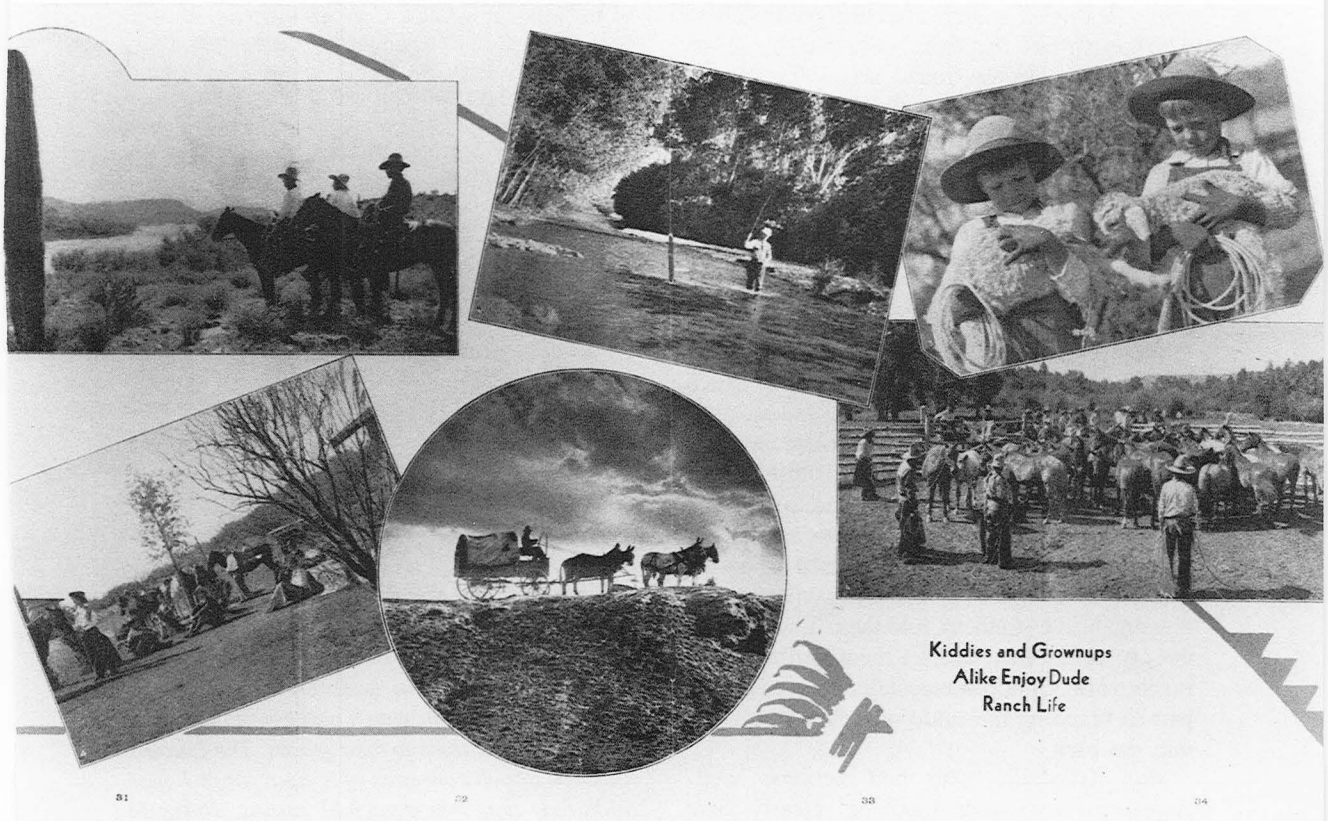
Northern Pacific officials were dedicated to a partnership with ranchers that would span decades. The Northern Pacific and Chicago, Burlington, and Quincy (Burlington) lines were the leaders promoting dude ranching with other railroads joining the effort in later years. The western lines advertised the areas they served to make the public aware of the West, and in more specific ways, to attract dude ranch passenger business. Northern Pacific and Burlington officials noted that they sold 5500 tickets at an average cost of $20 a ticket to dude ranch visitors from the eastern U. S. during the 1927 season.[9] These figures were substantial and encouraged them to increase their efforts.

In May, 1929, the New York *World* published a special dude ranch supplement in which the Northern Pacific and Burlington railroads together contributed a substantial half page ad emphasizing horseback riding, hiking, fishing, sleeping in log cabins, and associating with cowboys on vacation. Max Goodsill explained to the dude ranchers that the Northern Pacific and Burlington had spent $65,000 to $80,000 on dude ranch advertising in 1929. L. L. Perrin, Advertising Manager for the Northern Pacific, noted

at the 1930 DRA meeting held in Billings that the railroad had used forty-six magazines for advertising, with a combined circulation of twenty million. Additional advertisements appeared in many newspapers in the East and Midwest. During the summer of 1930 a drought and heat wave in these two regions led to a cooperative undertaking by the DRA and NP. The railroad-placed ads emphasized how pleasant summer weather was on a western ranch, and the DRA's Executive Secretary, T. Joe Cahill, travelled east to promote dude ranch vacations.[10]

also noted that the Northern Pacific had substantial window displays in Chicago and in the Minneapolis/St. Paul area.

The railroad officials also developed special advertising campaigns. They spent over $8,000 on display materials and on making motion pictures of western scenes and ranch life. The Northern Pacific had a hundred and seventy-two reels of film in its library which officials showed regularly or lent to interested people. Further, Perrin advised the ranchers that the Northern Pacific had added direct mail campaigns and that



Courtesy California State Railroad Museum

This double page spread from a 1933, Santa Fe Railroad brochure emphasizes the numerous activities offered at dude ranches. The central attraction in dude ranch life was horseback riding, with fishing, hunting, sightseeing and ranch work as other main attractions. Sunshine and warm weather were added features of the southwestern ranches.

At the 1931 annual DRA Convention held in Sheridan, Perrin noted that the railroads had increased their advertising for dude ranches each year in the Midwest, East, and Southeast. The list of magazines chosen for their supposed ranch-inclined readership was quite varied and included *Country Life*, *Town and Country*, *Vogue*, *Sportsman's Magazine*, *Spur*, *Polo*, *Junior League Magazine*, *The New Yorker*, *Life*, *Judge*, *Cosmopolitan*, *Red Book*, *Photoplay*, *Time*, and *Sports and Field Magazine*. Perrin

officials worked with dude ranchers who came East to line up business for the following season. As a result, he said, the country was becoming dude ranch conscious.[11]

The Northern Pacific and Burlington did far more than advertise in newspapers, magazines, department stores and on radio. A. B. Smith and Goodsill regularly attended the DRA Convention and kept in contact with ranchers. Other railroad officials also attended the annual conventions with as many as four from the Northern Pacific at some DRA meetings. Their presence led to serious discussions about rates, train schedules, routes, and other matters affecting guests. These men were aware that there were twenty million automobiles on the road; seeing each auto passenger as lost revenue, they intensified their efforts to get as many rail passengers as possible.[12] The meetings of the Dude Ranchers' Association became virtual workshops as interested railroad men gave the ranchers advice and suggestions. Goodsill was extremely active in this regard; he received complaints and suggestions from various ranch guests through many different railroad agents. One year he noted that the loudest complaint he heard was that ranch guests expected real cream and milk but received canned milk and no fresh vegetables. Goodsill told them that guests appreciated little efforts such as planting flowers around the front porch or setting the hay fork or other farm equipment in the yard. They were also pleased when the rancher or wrangler explained the types of saddles and bridles to them, told them how to judge the age of a horse, and let them participate in ranch work. Children especially enjoyed taking part in branding the cattle or driving the cows into the barn.

Max Goodsill, who had become well-acquainted with dude ranching, clearly gave ranchers advice on subjects that had no direct connection with railroads. He pointed out mistakes some ranchers made by having buildings or decorations that didn't look western. Some ranchers built stucco and tile fireplaces instead of using native stone, and one ordered wallboard made in New Orleans instead of using pine or other wood for walls. Goodsill praised the decorations at Eatons' Ranch, Elephant Head Lodge and Norris Ranch, and urged rancher attention to details about furniture and furnishings. He stressed that ranches must be genuinely western. Easterners lived in a land of unreality surrounded by glass palaces; one reason they chose ranch vacations was to get back to reality.[13]

Goodsill, a strong supporter of the Dude Ranchers' Association, urged its members to promote its growth in the West, but he suggested ranchers should not mention their Association in the East. People were so over-organized that they might mistakenly assume the DRA was an attempt to create a monopoly that would raise prices. Goodsill understood easterners and gave his ranch friends sound advice. He concluded one of his talks at a DRA Convention with several suggestions:

> Make a permanent friend of every guest. Be sure that you give him enough attention, or her enough attention, so that upon returning home they will swear by you personally and your place. Go east if you can to see your old customers and get new ones. Use care in your correspondence. Be just as prompt as you can.[14]

Smith was no less enthusiastic about dude ranch potential. One year, when he could not at-

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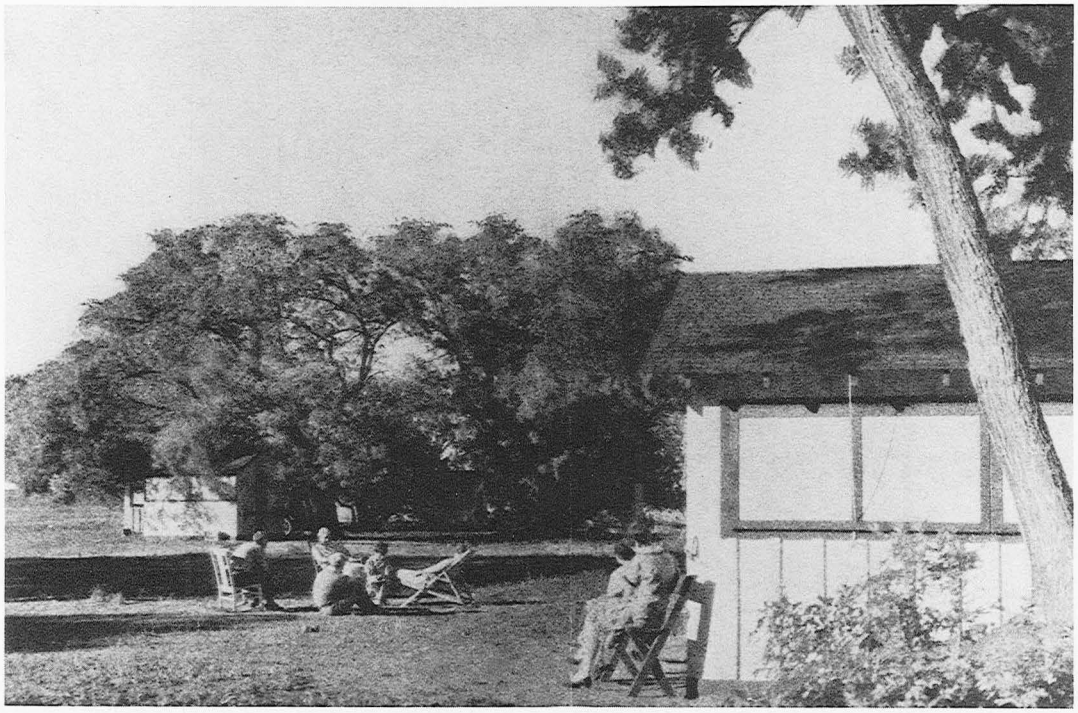
These two photographs from a 1933, Santa Fe Railroad pamphlet give a glimpse of two ranches in Arizona. On top is the Eaton Brother's Rimrock Ranch. The Eaton family, one of the early leaders in the dude ranching business, operated this Arizona ranch in addition to their main Sheridan, Wyoming, ranch and could thus offer year-round vacations to their guests. The Eaton's Rimrock Ranch consisted of a main ranch house (pictured) and two detached cabins. Rates in 1933 were fifty to eighty dollars a week, per person, which included room, board and a horse. On the bottom, a less expensive ranch, located twenty-five miles from Prescott, Arizona, in Simmons, was the Cross Triangle. This ranch, owned by Mr. and Mrs. J. W. Stewart, was located on one of the largest cattle ranches in northern Arizona. A main ranch house and cabins (complete with hot and cold showers) accommodating twenty guests were located in a grove of large walnut trees. The rates for the Cross Triangle were only thirty-two dollars per week.



Courtesy California State Railroad Museum

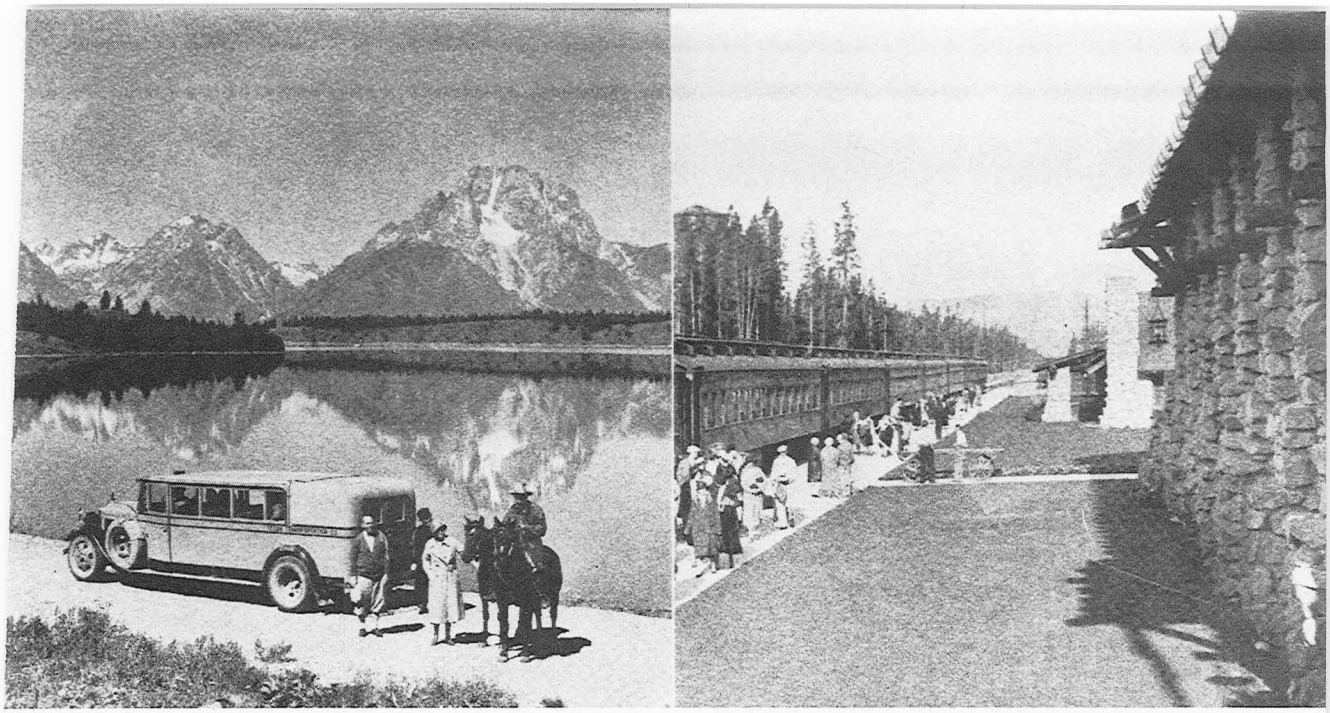
tend the DRA convention, he sent a letter full of suggestions. He urged ranchers to go east in the winter to meet previous guests and potential guests. The ranchers' enthusiasm for western outdoor life would be a significant factor in influencing people to choose a ranch vacation. Smith promised that Northern Pacific officials would assist ranchers who made these eastern trips.[15]

H. F. McLaury, Advertising Manager of the Burlington Route, urged ranchers to publish a dude ranch directory for prospective guests; he also suggested that they should capitalize on the history, traditions, and legends of the old days in their literature. Ranchers eventually heeded his advice on both issues. The DRA began publishing a directory of its member ranches and has continued to do so to the present, and ranchers also emphasized their frontier heritage in their published material.[16]

Eventually other railroads began to realize the importance of dude ranches and their guests. The Union Pacific Railroad (UP) sent a representative to the DRA meeting for the first time in 1931. Mr. Engleston noted that his line could not serve ranches in the Big Horn Country but did traverse other areas where there were some dude ranches: Medicine Bow Country, the Snowy Range, and

Union Pacific Railroad Museum Collection, Courtesy California State Railroad Museum

In keeping with the western image, the Union Pacific Railroad outfitted one of its club cars on the streamliner the "City of Denver" with a unique tavern called the "Frontier Shack," circa 1937.



Courtesy California State Railroad Museum

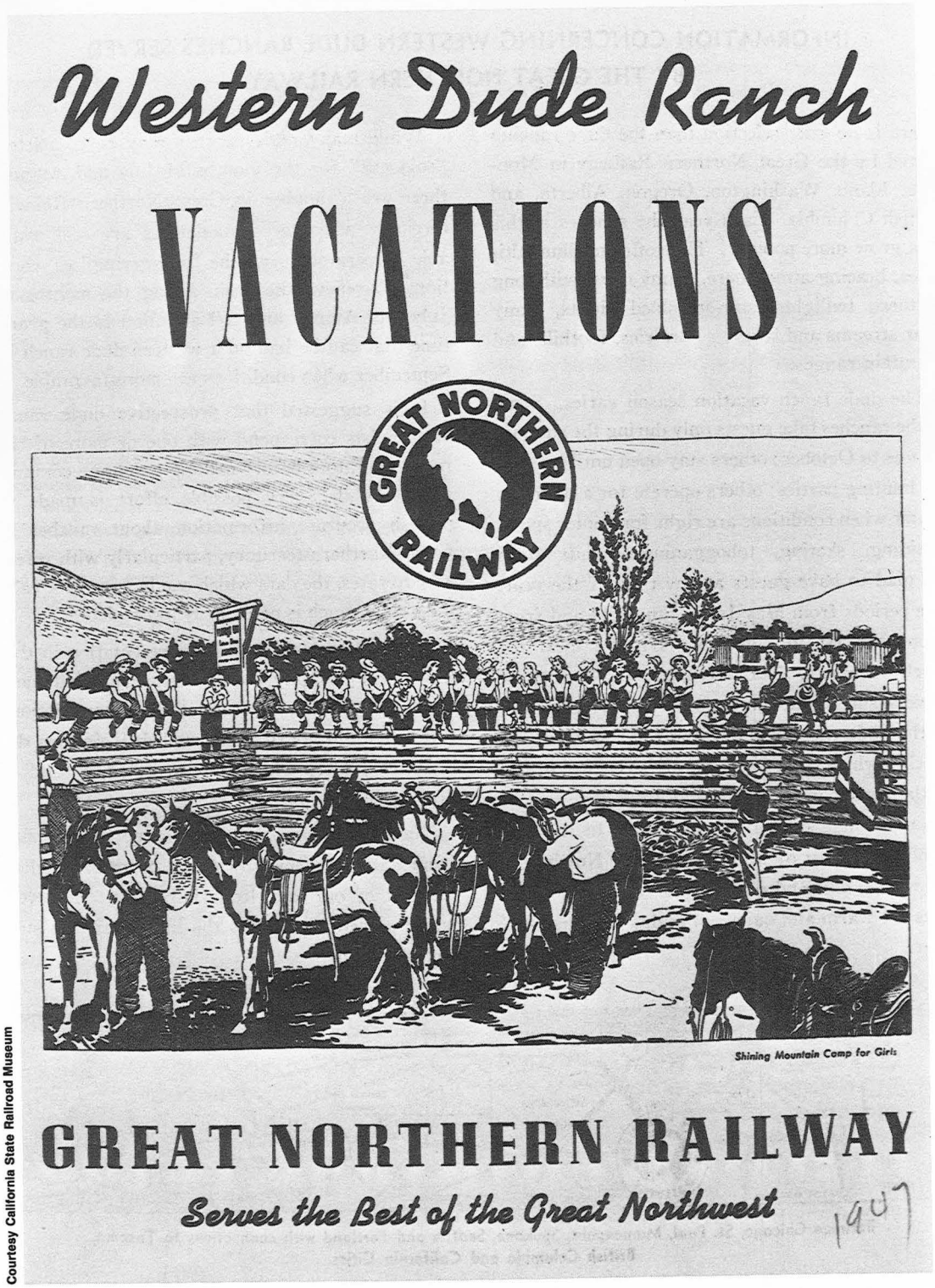
The Union Pacific Railroad also promoted the merits of the northwestern dude ranches in their 1937 brochure entitled "Dude Ranches." Photographs from this brochure picture, on the left, the Teton Transportation Company bus that met the Union Pacific train at Victor, Idaho — "the Gateway to Grand Teton — Jackson Hole." On the right, happy "dudes" arrive at West Yellowstone, Montana, on their way to the nearby ranches and Yellowstone National Park.

Jackson Hole. He correctly predicted that the Jackson Hole area would eventually be one of the prime dude ranch locales in the West; it had everything but good transportation and that would come soon.[17]

Union Pacific officials decided to support a dude ranch organization for areas they did serve. Although there is considerable difference of opinion about the date, it appears that in 1933 the Union Pacific helped start the Colorado Dude & Guest Ranch Association (CD & GRA). With good service to Denver and Cheyenne the UP could offer access to the many ranches operating in Colorado and southern Wyoming. The CD & GRA started more slowly than the DRA, but it became more active in promotion after 1945 and has continued to grow in the 1980s.[18]

In 1931 the Chicago, Milwaukee, St. Paul & Pacific Railroad sent a representative to the DRA meeting for the first time also. Mr. Dodge of that line noted that he had visited Bones Brothers' and Brewster's dude ranches that summer and was impressed with them. He told the ranchers the Milwaukee line was the underdog in carrying passengers to dude ranchers. But it had access to Yellowstone Park via Gallatin Gateway and used that as a way to serve ranchers in that area. Several years later the passenger agent of the Milwaukee line, W. E. Lutz, gave a radio talk in Philadelphia extolling the merits of Montana dude ranches. He emphasized the restful but invigorating climate, the personalities of the ranchers that made guests feel comfortable, the wide variety of activities on ranches, and the ease with which eastern guests adapted to ranch life. The Milwaukee line eventually appointed a passenger agent at Butte to call on dude ranchers.[19]

A third railroad, the Great Northern Railway (GN), sent a representative to the 1931 DRA meeting for the first time. Mr. Bates of that line noted that his railroad was some distance from the most well-known dude ranches. The Great Northern was interested in ranch passengers, however, and soon began publishing a pamphlet on dude ranches in Montana, Idaho, Washington, Alberta, and British Columbia. It eventually opened a dude ranch headquarters in New York City.[20]



Courtesy California State Railroad Museum

"Western Dude Ranch Vacations" flyer published in 1947 by the Great Northern Railway.

The increased number of railroads showing interest in dude ranch passengers made it easier for eastern and midwestern visitors to travel West. It also enabled dude ranching to grow and spread over a wide geographical area. Many ranches had adequate facilities for guests but had not advertized or had not been easily accessible. When railroads provided publicity and offered special prices and more convenient schedules, more ranches thrived and many of them joined one of the two ranch associations. By 1941 brochures, pamphlets, or booklets were published by the following railroads: Northern Pacific; Chicago, Burlington & Quincy; Union Pacific; Great Northern; Atchison, Topeka & Santa Fe; Southern Pacific; Rock Island; Chicago, Milwaukee, St. Paul & Pacific; and the Chicago & North Western line.[21] The railroads serving California, Nevada, Arizona, New Mexico and Texas never became as active as those lines serving Colorado, Wyoming and Montana, but they did promote dude ranching to some degree. In a book published in 1936 author Lawrence B. Smith provided eight separate lists of dude ranches in an appendix. One of these was the DRA membership list; the other seven were lists provided by the railroads that served the ranches.[22]

Even some eastern railroads began to feature dude ranch scenes in their advertising. The Pennsylvania and the Baltimore & Ohio issued menu cards promoting ranch vacations. The Illinois Central devoted a department in its regular magazine to dude ranch vacations; this publication circulated in many parts of the South, an area not well covered by the ranchers. The New York Central issued its own dude ranch book, *Westward Ho*. These eastern railroads could not take guests to the ranches, but they hoped to get the passenger business from eastern cities they served to the appropriate connecting railroads.[23]

The Northern Pacific and Burlington lines continued their active support of dude ranching even as competing railroads tried to get some of the ranch business. Of course, railroads were not always competing directly since they often served different regions or portions of a state. The Northern Pacific sponsored annual visits to ranches by Bert L. Brown, their official photographer. Brown had gone west in 1926 on the advice of his physician, and while on this trip, he decided dude ranches needed publicity. He took more than one hundred ranch photos and showed them to officials in the NP passenger traffic office. The railroad appointed him as its official photographer and sent him to the DRA Convention. Thereafter, he returned west every summer for at least eleven years. He generally visited thirty to thirty-five ranches each year and eventually had more than 17,000 ranch negatives. Brown's photographs reached millions through newspapers, magazines, window displays, and direct distribution to ranchers, their dudes, and prospective guests. About ten percent of the guests at the ranches Brown visited bought photos as souvenirs of their vacations. Brown's ranch photographs became the basis of an enormous collection assembled by the Northern Pacific, probably the finest pictorial record of dude ranching ever gathered together.[24] Housed for decades at offices in St. Paul it was broken up in the 1980's when the Burlington Northern prepared to close its St. Paul offices.[25]

These photographs were simply another part of the continuing assistance the railroads gave the dude ranchers. In 1938, for instance, western railroad officials sponsored a travel show in Chicago and Philadelphia. In the latter city, they set up a dude ranch booth, operated by railroad officials rather than ranchers or the Dude Ranchers' Association. The ranchers received immense benefits from railroad efforts, but some ranchers did not seem to realize it. Larry Larom, who served as President of the DRA for eighteen years, regularly pointed out the benefits the ranchers received from railroads.[26]

The exact importance of the railroads to dude ranch business has never been determined. Neither railroad officials nor ranchers analyzed the various types of advertising or promotion and their impact on dude ranch business. Some ranchers estimated, however, that ninety-five percent of their inquiries came from listings in railroad brochures.[27] The publications, mentioned earlier, were informative and easy for easterners to obtain. Northern Pacific travel offices, for instance, were scattered from Georgia to New York to Ohio in addition to many western states. The NP brochures entitled "Dude Ranch Vacations" showed pictures of ranch activities, contained a text explaining ranch life, and listed over one hundred dude ranches and outfitters. This listing was keyed to a map showing the NP route across the western states. A flyer published

by the Great Northern Railway, "Western Dude Ranch Vacations," included a map showing routes from the Great Lakes to the Pacific Coast, a brief statement about dude ranching, and rather lengthy descriptions of thirty-eight ranches in Montana, Idaho, Oregon, Washington, Alberta, and British Columbia.[28]

The railroads that served the southwestern states also began promoting dude ranches in Arizona, New Mexico, and California. The Atchison, Topeka and Santa Fe and the Southern Pacific lines published numerous brochures promoting ranch vacations. The Santa Fe, for instance, produced a sixty-eight page booklet in 1933 titled simply "Dude Ranches." It included an explanation of dude ranching in general and its specific development in Arizona, New Mexico, and southern Colorado, as well as dozens of photographs of scenic sights near the ranches and of ranch guests, activities, and buildings. In the 1940s the Santa Fe published an even larger brochure with more photographs and additional information, especially about the Spanish and the Indians of the Southwest; an insert, with details of the individual ranches, was changed each year. Similar brochures were published in the 1950s and these included ranches in California.[29] The Southern Pacific published a number of smaller booklets in the 1930s and 1940s, generally under the title "Guest Ranches."[30]

The material published and distributed by these two railroads was similar to that printed by other lines, but it also emphasized that southwestern ranches accepted guests in the winter when snow and cold forced ranches in the northern states to close.

Despite the fact that they spent a substantial amount of time and money promoting ranch vacations, the southwestern railroads were never as closely identified with dude ranching as were the Northern Pacific, Union Pacific and Burlington lines. One reason for this was that there was no one dude ranch organization in the Southwest that endured for a substantial length of time. The Arizona Dude and Guest Ranchers' Association, formed in the late 1920s, lasted only a few years. In the next decade the Arizona Hotel and Dude Ranch Association operated. In the 1940s the Southern Arizona Guest Ranch Association was formed; it was replaced in the 1960s by the Southern Arizona Dude and Guest Ranch Association. Its members then joined with resort hotel owners to become the Tucson Innkeepers, Ranch and Resort Association.[31] With these many changes there was never the close relationship between ranchers and railroad officials as there was within the Dude Ranchers' Association and the Colorado Dude and Guest Ranch Association.

Another important reason for this lack of identification between southwestern railroads and ranches is that there were more types of vacation facilities that developed in the Southwest. Hotels, country clubs, motels, and resorts proliferated in Arizona, New Mexico, and California, and they minimized the significance of dude ranches in the tourist industry in those states.

Of all the railroad publications, the most elaborate were undoubtedly those put out by the Union Pacific Railroad. Titled "Dude Ranches Out West," they featured a color photo of a western scene on the front cover that was spectacular enough, it was hoped, to sell a dude ranch vacation by itself. An introduction, "The Lure of the Ranch Country," explained details of ranch life. Then ranches were listed in ten regions: Jackson Hole; Wind River-Green River; Continental Divide and Snowy Range; Cody; Montana; Idaho; Oregon; Washington; Colorado; and Utah, Nevada, and California. Each ranch was described in detail with information about location, accommodations, activities and rates. The text explained that guests would travel via the Union Pacific to a particular station where they would be met by the ranchers. The railroad also included pictures and descriptions of the Domeliners and Streamliners that served the various western regions.[32]

This intense cooperation between railroads and dude ranchers, which began in the 1920s, accelerated in the 1930s. Business for both industries was hurt by the Great Depression but improved significantly in the late 1930s. World War II greatly affected both ranches and railroads, forcing them to shift their attention to the war effort. The President of the Northern Pacific, C. E. Denny, assured Larry Larom, President of the Dude Ranchers' Association, that the railroads would continue to handle travellers on vacation but noted that:

> . . .nothing will be done, however, which will interfere with meeting the needs for the transportation of our fighting forces and the things they must have to win the fight.[33]

Dude ranchers had many problems during the war, especially in hiring ranch workers; they had to inform guests not to expect as much service as they had received in past years. And guests sometimes experienced difficulty in making railroad reservations for their western trips. In spite of these and other problems, most dude ranches survived the war years, and the close cooperation between railroads and ranches resumed after the war. Business seemed to be returning to normal and there was even a surge in dude ranch development in Colorado, Arizona and New Mexico. But a significant change occurred after the war that had profound effects on both dude ranches and railroads. This was the tremendous increase in travel by automobile. What railroad officials had seen in the 1920s as a threat became a disaster after World War II. It seemed as though the war rationing of tires, gasoline, and cars had built up an uncontrollable desire in Americans to travel by automobile, leading to a basic reliance on automobile transportation ever since. State and federal highway programs increased as millions of cars appeared on the highways. The effect on railroads was obvious since every driver or passenger was a lost customer. The effect on dude ranches was less obvious but nearly as devastating. Travel by auto affected dude ranches in several ways; automobile travelers tended to be on the road longer than rail passengers and thus had less time for vacation. More significantly, people who came to ranches via auto tended to remain for shorter stays than railroad passengers. Auto travellers were more independent and less inclined to make the ranch the focal point of their vacation. Railroad visitors were virtually tied to the ranch once they arrived and they usually stayed from three weeks to the entire season. Automobile guests were more likely to stay a week or two and then move on.[34]

Even more serious was the fact that increased auto travel brought more competitors to dude ranches. As new roads were completed, inns, camps, and motels were built. The automobile travelers did not need to stay at dude ranches, which had once been the only choice for some travellers. The camp, inn, or motel could serve as a base from which they could venture forth to see mountains, plains and parks. And facilities at the National Parks were rapidly improved to accommodate autos. Dude ranches had been the most ardent supporters of the Parks, and early Park officials had praised the ranchers for giving their guests a true wilderness experience in the visits they conducted through the Parks.[35] Now ranchers saw guests motoring through areas formerly accessible only by pack trips; eventually roads became paramount and restrictions were even placed on horse use in the National Parks.

As the railroads lost passenger business, both to automobiles and then to airlines, railroad officials had to reconsider their policies and advertising. When World War II ended, the railroads had resumed their support of dude ranches. At the 1945 DRA meeting, Great Northern official W. A. Wilson noted that his railroad had staff meetings once or twice a year to discuss dude ranch business, and UP official H. B. Northcott stated that his line intended to resume its prewar advertising. Max Goodsill noted at the 1948 meeting that its photographer would again be sent to dude ranches for advertising purposes.[36] In 1950 Burlington officials estimated that they spent $10,000 on summer advertising for dude ranches, about twenty percent of the total advertising for that summer. But he noted that many people saw the railroad advertisements and then travelled by car to the dude ranches.[37]

The ranchers saw this problem and discussed special rates and other ways to get guests to come by train. But ranches and railroads were fighting a hopeless battle; people wanted the convenience of driving. At the 1950 DRA Convention quiet recognition was given to the inevitable. A new DRA constitution included a provision stating that ranchers would seek cooperation and promotion from railroads, airlines and other transportation agencies. Earlier DRA constitutions had mentioned only railroads in this regard.[38]

The railroads finally realized they could not continue their massive support for dude ranches. The Union Pacific discontinued its booklet "Dude Ranches Out West" after the 1959 issue.[39] In the same year a twenty-two minute color-sound film, "We Dude It," was produced and, significantly, co-sponsored by the Montana Highway Commission and Northwest Orient Airlines.[40] Representatives from the railroads continued attending the conventions of the DRA for years even as representatives from the airlines began to participate.[41] Rail passenger service declined in the 1950s at the same time railroads ceased publishing brochures advertising dude

ranch vacations. Ranchers attempted to get railroad officials to resume convenient and efficient passenger service and hoped that Amtrak, in the 1970s, would reinstitute substantial passenger service to the western states. But such was not the case and the close relationship between dude ranches and railroads never resumed.[42]

As rail passenger service diminished, dude ranching also declined. While it is difficult to prove a cause and effect relationship, many ranchers were convinced that poor rail service caused some of their problems.[43] Airlines, such as United, Northwest Orient, and Frontier, have promoted dude ranching, but these lines have so many other passengers that dude ranch guests never became a significant percentage of their business. Many dude ranchers had become dependent on railroad advertising without realizing its tremendous importance; when that railroad support was withdrawn, some ranches never compensated for it and their businesses declined or even disappeared. There were other reasons for dude ranch decline also. In Arizona the incredible urban growth of Tucson and Phoenix led to the surrounding of dude ranches by cities, and these ranches soon became country clubs, motels or resorts. In Colorado, Wyoming, and Montana the National Parks were enlarged by the acquisition of some of the older dude ranches. And, in general, the tremendous growth of all types of western vacation areas simply lessened the importance and appeal of a dude ranch vacation. As the wilderness was fragmented by superhighways, subdivisions and access roads, some ranches ceased to be havens of pleasant comfort from which one ventured forth to enjoy the rugged outdoors.

There was a time, however, when railroad officials and dude ranchers could agree with L. L. Newton, the Executive Manager of the Wyoming State Board of Commerce and Industry. Newton, speaking at the Fourth Annual Meeting of the Dude Ranchers' Association in Billings, said the day would come when ranchers could look back and say:

> Well we pioneered this great work. We were the ones who started this thing going. We were the ones who blazed the trail. We found the road that leads on to a greater development of our splendid western country.[44]

NOTES:

1. For further information on dude ranches and their importance see the following articles: Jerome L. Rodnitzky, "Recapturing the West: The Dude Ranch in American Life," *Arizona and the West* 10 (Summer 1968): 111-126; Charles G. Roundy, "The Origins and Early Development of Dude Ranching in Wyoming," *Annals of Wyoming* 45 (Spring 1973): 5-25. Books that deal with the subject include: Struthers Burt, *The Diary of a Dude-Wrangler* (New York, NY: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1924); Earl Pomeroy, *In Search of the Golden West: The Tourist in Western America* (New York, NY: Alfred A. Knopf, 1957); Lawrence R. Borne, *Dude Ranching: A Complete History* (Albuquerque, NM: University of New Mexico Press, 1983).

2. "Dude Ranching in Wyoming," *The Dude Rancher* 23 (October 1954): 53; Neil Morgan, "Hey Dude!" *Western's World: The Magazine of Western Airlines*, 4 (June-July 1973): 43.

3. Robert S. Yard, *The Book of National Parks* (New York, NY: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1919, 1928), pp. 3-4, 19-20.

4. Warren J. Belasco, *Americans on the Road: From Autocamp to Motel, 1910-1945* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1979), pp. 47-60.

5. Mary Roberts Rinehart, "What Is a Dude Ranch?" *Harper's Bazaar* (August 1927): 68-69; Mrs. Ernest Miller, "50th Anniversary," *The Dude Rancher* 43 (Spring 1974): 9.

6. DRA Minutes, 1929, p. 61, Pam File, Wyoming State Archives (hereafter cited as WSA); Miller, "50th Anniversary," p. 9.

7. *Bozeman Daily Chronicle*, September 26, 1926: 1, 3.

8. I. H. Larom to Mrs. A Sanzenbacher, February 13, 1965, I. H. (Larry) Larom Manuscript Collection, Buffalo Bill Historical Center.

9. B. O. Johnson to Charles Donnelly, November 15, 1927, Northern Pacific Railway Company Records, President's File 2001-1, Minnesota Historical Society.

10. DRA Minutes, 1929, pp. 63-71; DRA Minutes, 1930, pp. 118-122; Pam File, WSA.

11. DRA Minutes, 1931, pp. 54-56, Western History Department, Denver Public Library; L. L. Perrin, "You Profit from the Dude Ranch Advertising," *The Dude Rancher* 1 (December 1932): 8.
12. *Bozeman Daily Chronicle*, August 1, 1928: 1, 8.
13. DRA Minutes, 1929, pp. 65-71; DRA Minutes, 1930, pp. 123-124; Pam File, WSA.
14. DRA Minutes, 1929, pp. 73-75, Pam File, WSA.
15. DRA Minutes, 1930, p. 6, Pam File, WSA.
16. DRA Minutes, 1930, pp. 115-118, Pam File, WSA.
17. DRA Minutes, 1931, pp. 57-59, Denver Public Library.
18. Robert Venuti, Sr., "Dude Ranching in Colorado," in Thomas Chamblin, ed., *The Historical Encyclopedia of Colorado* (Denver, CO: Colorado Historical Association, 1960?), I, 63; author's telephone interview with Johnnie Holzwarth, June 4, 1980.
19. *Bozeman Daily Chronicle*, August 8, 1928: 6; DRA Minutes, 1931, pp. 59-61, Denver Public Library; "Montana Dude Ranches," *The Dude Rancher* 6 (July & August 1938): 8-9; DRA Minutes, 1947, DRA Collection, Box 1, American Heritage Center, University of Wyoming.
20. DRA Minutes, 1931, p. 73, Denver Public Library; DRA Minutes, 1940, p. 32, DRA Collection, Box 1, University of Wyoming; Joseph P. Sullivan, "A Description and Analysis of the Dude Ranching Industry in Montana," (Master's Thesis, University of Montana, 1971), p. 18.
21. Great Northern Railway, "Western Dude Ranch Vacations," [1947], brochure in author's possession; Henry W. Wack, "Life on a Dude Ranch," *Arts and Decoration* 35 (May 1931): 59, 92; Chicago & North Western Line, "Wyoming Wild West Ranches," pamphlet, Vertical File, Dude Ranches #3, WSA.
22. Lawrence B. Smith, *Dude Ranches and Ponies* (New York, NY: Coward-McCann, 1936), pp. 265-288.
23. DRA Minutes, 1929, p. 39; DRA Minutes, 1930, pp. 43, 95-96; Pam Files, WSA.
24. DRA Minutes, 1935, pp. 37-40, DRA Collection, Box 1, University of Wyoming.
25. Most of these photographs were sent to the Montana Historical Society and the University of Wyoming.
26. I. H. Larom, "President's Page," *The Dude Rancher* 6 (July & August 1938): 21; DRA Minutes, 1951, DRA Collection, Box 2, University of Wyoming.
27. Raymond J. Raddy, "Dude Ranching Is Not All Yippee!" *The Western Horseman* 17 (April 1952): 39.
28. "Dude Ranch Vacations," Northern Pacific Railway [1962]; "Western Dude Ranch Vacations," Great Northern Railway [1947]; both in author's possession.
29. "Dude Ranches," January, 1933; "Santa Fe Dude Ranch Country," March, 1946; "Winter Resorts and Ranches," 1951-1952; "Summer Ranches and Resorts," 1953; all in Atchison, Topeka and Santa Fe Railway Corporate Files, California State Railroad Museum Library.
30. "Guest Ranches," August, 1939, and October, 1940; "List of Guest Ranches," August, 1942, October, 1946, and September, 1947; "Southern Arizona and Southwestern Ranches and Resorts," October, 1946; "List of Resorts and Guest Ranches Resort Hotels and Ranch Schools," October, 1948; all in Southern Pacific Files, California State Railroad Museum Library.
31. "Ranch Directory," *Horse and Horseman* 21 (April 1939): 12-15; Frank B. Norris, "The Southern Arizona Guest Ranch as a Symbol of the West," (Master's Thesis, University of Arizona, 1976), p. 42.
32. "Dude Ranches Out West," Union Pacific Railroad, [1959], in author's possession; see also: "Union Pacific R.R. Publishes Interesting Dude Ranch Book," *The Dude Rancher* 6 (July and August 1938): 11.
33. C. E. Denney to I. H. Larom, May 29, 1942, President's File #2001, Northern Pacific Railway Company Records, Minnesota Historical Society.
34. Charles C. Moore, "President's Page," *The Dude Rancher* 16 (October 1947): 4, 56-57; Ingolf Klaus Vogeler, "Farm and Ranch Vacationing in the United States," (Ph.D. Dissertation, University of Minnesota, 1973), pp. 96-97.
35. DRA Minutes, 1929, pp. 102-103, Pam File, WSA; Newton B. Drury to C. C. Moore, February 3, 1945, Charles Cornell Moore Memorial Collection, Western History Department, Denver Public Library.
36. DRA Minutes, 1945, pp. 106-107, 120-122; DRA Minutes, 1948, p. 39; DRA Collection, Box 1, University of Wyoming.
37. DRA Minutes, 1950, pp. 37-38, DRA Collection, Box 2, University of Wyoming.
38. DRA Minutes, 1950, pp. 2-7, 40-44.
39. J. J. Glaze, Union Pacific Railroad, to author, July 11, 1973 and September 7, 1973.
40. "We Dude It," *The Dude Rancher* 28 (January 1959): 28.
41. DRA Minutes, 1952, pp. II-III; DRA Minutes, 1957, pp. iii-iv; DRA Collection, Box 2, University of Wyoming.
42. Mr. and Mrs. Tom Ferguson, interview, March 28, 1972: Box 2, Charles G. Roundy Collection, American Heritage Center, University of Wyoming; "Resolutions of The Dude Ranchers' Association Adopted at the Annual Convention," December 1, 1973, res. no. 8, mailed to Associate Members.
43. Sullivan, "A Description and Analysis of the Dude Ranching Industry in Montana," p. 18.
44. DRA Minutes, 1929, p. 88, Pam File, WSA.

Reviews of Western Books

TRAILS SOUTH: THE WAGON-ROAD ECONOMY IN THE DODGE CITY-PANHANDLE REGION. By C. Robert Haywood. (Norman, OK: University of Oklahoma Press, 1986. xv + 312 pp., illus., maps, notes, biblio., index. $19.95)

For students of the American West, *Trails South* provides a well-researched study of a little-known aspect of western transportation history. The region surveyed is the Dodge City-Panhandle Region, which includes southeastern Kansas and the panhandles of Oklahoma and Texas. In the late nineteenth century, Dodge was the unofficial capital and commercial center of the region, largely because it was the terminus of three important wagon roads — the Dodge City-Fort Supply Trail, the Tascosa-Dodge City Trail, and the Jones and Plummer Trail.

To Haywood, this region had important characteristics that gave it a homogeneous nature. Among these were common geographical features, shared opinions about the land, the Indians, and social behavior, and an interconnection of the trade area and lines of transportation. It was these trails that did much to maintain the interdependence of the region.

The emphasis of the study is on the story of these trails, the reasons for their establishment, the opportunities offered by them, and the men who shaped them. Whether dealing with the freighter, entrepreneur, or stage driver, the author presents fascinating insights into the people of the trails. One of them was P. G. Reynolds, a mail contractor from Dodge, who helped open the region to settlement and continued to sustain the settlers who put down stakes there.

From the 1860s to the appearance of the railroads, these trails served the region well, establishing a strong north-south orientation, supporting towns and businesses along the way, as well as developing a sense of community. By 1890 the old system of wagon-road economy was dead and with it died the region as an operational unit. Lives were disrupted, communities destroyed, and new towns sprang up overnight along the trails.

In spite of these changes, the contributions of earlier settlers to the region remain. Using Wilbur Zelinsky's concept of "The Doctrine of First Effective Settlement," Haywood believes that the men and women who built the wagon-road economy and remained on the land were important in leaving an initial, powerful imprint on the culture of the region.

The author writes with skill and knowledge, and both the professional historian and the general reader will find much here to ponder. If there is any criticism of the work, it is that Haywood looks back too fondly at this pre-railroad period of freight lines, road ranches, and stage coaches.

Richard A. Van Orman

Richard A. Van Orman, Professor of History at Purdue University, Calumet, is working on a history of crime in nineteenth century America and on western films of the 1940s. He is the author of The Explorers *(1983), a comparative study.*

PRIME CUT: LIVESTOCK RAISING AND MEATPACKING IN THE UNITED STATES, 1607-1983. By Jimmy M. Skaggs. (College Station, TX: Texas A & M University Press, 1986. xii + 263 pp., illus., biblio., index. $28.50)

Jimmy Skaggs has concentrated on the economic rather than the romantic side of the livestock industry, and *Prime Cut* is a worthy companion to his excellent work on the cattle trailing industry (1973). The history of stock raising and meatpacking concerns more than big-pasture ranchers and giant meatpackers, he notes. It is also the story of large and small farmers, big and small business, technological innovation, changing consumer preferences, ongoing struggles between labor and management, and government assistance as well as regulation.

Starting in colonial times, Skaggs follows the various aspects of the fresh meat industry to the 1980s. Between 1865 and 1920 livestock raising split into distinctive agrarian endeavors — farming and ranching. Most American beef is still produced by small farmers; some sixty-thousand large and small ranches account for only ten percent of domestic beef. The United States continues to be a net importer of live cattle and fresh beef.

In 1906, Upton Sinclair's *The Jungle* helped generate a demand for government regulation of meatpackers. The Meat Inspection Act and the Pure Food and Drug Law were both enacted that year, but had little immediate impact. By 1920, nevertheless, the red-meat trade was the most regulated American business.

Since World War II meatpacking has changed substantially as new plants arose near feedlots, usually in "right-to-work" states. One newcomer is Iowa Beef Packers, which streamlined methods and by 1980 dominated the boxed-beef business, half of the nation's fresh beef trade.

The Reagan administration has been charged with taking the side of packers against consumers. Federal inspectors are said to be subjected to relentless pressure to approve diseased or spoiled meat. Those who refuse are reportedly

harassed or even dismissed by USDA officials. Two firms that together supply one-fourth of the ground meat for the federal school-lunch program have been accused of knowingly selling contaminated meat to schools.

Sanitary conditions in meatpacking are infinitely superior to the appalling conditions Sinclair described, but scandal still haunts the industry. The upsurge of consolidation is another concern, for, as Skaggs concludes, the trend is unmistakably toward a new beef trust dominated by a few firms, as in the 1880s and 1890s.

Many books have been written about various aspects of livestock raising and meatpacking. Among the most recent is *Return to the Jungle: How the Reagan Administration is Imperiling the Nation's Meat and Poultry Inspection* (1983) by Kathleen Hughes. Skaggs in *Prime Cut* is to be commended for bringing it all together in one readable volume.

Donald E. Worcester

A holder of two Western Writers of America Spur Awards, Donald E. Worcester is the author of The Chisholm Trail *(1980). He is a professor of history at Texas Christian University.*

LOS TUCSONENSES: THE MEXICAN COMMUNITY IN TUCSON, 1854-1941. By Thomas E. Sheridan. (Tucson, AZ: University of Arizona Press, 1986. xvi + 327 pp., notes, biblio., maps, tables, index. $22.50)

Thomas Sheridan's fine book tells an increasingly familiar story of how *mexicanos* in a southwestern community have fared over time under Anglo-American control. The story, to be sure, has local variations. We have known for some time, for example, that the process of political and economic subordination of *mexicanos* took longer in isolated Tucson than it did

in those Texas and California cities where more vigorous economic growth followed hard on the heels of the Mexican-American War. Nonetheless, the connection of Tucson to the rest of the United States by rail in 1880 brought changes for *los tucsonenses* that *mexicanos* had already experienced in other parts of the Southwest: the loss of agricultural and ranching lands, the growth of discriminatory institutions, the introduction of a dual wage system, the enclavement of *mexicanos* in segregated neighborhoods, and rising ethnic tensions. Tucson's location near the border and the character of its economic growth provided greater tolerance and economic opportunity for *mexicano* entrepreneurs (new immigrants and Arizona-born alike) than did many other southwestern cities. Thus, a strong Mexican-American middle class developed in Tucson. Its values, however, paralleled those of the Anglo-American middle class, alienating it from the *mexicano* working class.

That Sheridan's conclusions seem familiar is testimony to a growing literature on the Mexican-American urban experience, including book-length studies of Los Angeles by Richard Griswold and Ricardo Romo, Santa Barbara by Albert Camarillo, El Paso by Mario García, and a variety of Texas communities studied by Arnoldo de León. Anthropologist Sheridan has profited from these works by historians. They provided him with frameworks, methodologies, and generalizations that have enabled him to place Tucson in a larger context. Sheridan has also brought to this book his own elegant prose style and an ability to combine rich and vivid description of individual *tucsonenses* with sophisticated analysis of data regarding the Tucson community in the aggregate. His most interesting data comes from the manuscript censuses of 1860, 1880 and 1900.

Sheridan and his publisher have collaborated to produce a splendid book, graced by three sections of photographs reproduced on glossy paper, brimming with clear and useful maps, charts, and tables, and, *mirabile dictu* — sensibly priced.

David J. Weber

David J. Weber is the author of Foreigners in Their Native Land *(1973),* The Mexican Frontier *(1982),* Richard Kern *(1985) and other books on the Southwest. He is Professor of History at Southern Methodist University.*

A HISTORY OF THE NAVAJOS: THE RESERVATION YEARS. By Garrick Bailey and Roberta Glenn Bailey. (Seattle, WA: University of Washington Press, 1986. xx + 360 pp., illus., appendixes, biblio., index. $30)

This book could well be entitled "An Economic History of the Navajos Since 1868." It only cursorily examines the pre-Bosque Redondo years — the centuries of Pueblo, Spanish, Mexican, and American contact. It does not cover social organization; very little is said of clan or familial organization, except to describe Kluckhohn's concept of the "outfit," an idea which Lamphere and others have discredited. No substantive inquiry is made into traditional Navajo religion, which is at the core of Navajo culture. Nor is this an internal history of arts and crafts. The account of Navajo tribal government is sketchy at best. The whole controversial subject of relocation is left out. The authors have concentrated instead on economic history.

In doing so, they have broken new ground. They have gleaned enormous amounts of data reported by government agents from 1868 to about 1936, and from Farmington newspapers. Their analysis of trade, and all that follows from this important concept, is an important contribution to Navajo studies.

Alas, most of the authors' economic data is patently unreliable. Agents made guesses about stockholdings and were totally unacquainted with the westerly parts of Navajoland. Even today, Navajo statistics are incomplete. Still, we must be grateful for this compilation and analysis, for the Baileys have thereby laid the foundations for future studies of Navajo economic life.

The authors have used a complicated and frustrating footnoting system. For referencing, they have employed the anthropological style, the Chicago style for a separate set of footnotes, and an esoteric series of abbreviations. The reader who must constantly thumb through the back pages will find this a great hindrance to the flow of the narrative.

There are some peculiarities about citations which must be noted. Their use of their own fieldnotes, recorded in the Chaco area in 1977, for information as far back as the 1870s, needs an explanation. It is disturbing that they often cite generalists, such as Underhill. Occasionally, they have used a source written before events they relate. Their heavy reliance on official reports is a new technique in the study of Navajo history except for the work of Brugge. These reports were not available after the 1920s and 1930s, and their account thereafter follows standard and secondary sources.

What do the authors see in the future for Navajo culture? They believe that if permanent, reliable wage labor replaces sporadic wage labor, then the extended family, which has always acted as a restraint upon young Navajos, will vanish, and Navajo culture will vanish with it. Perhaps they are right. Yet, their failure to examine carefully the Navajo ethos, particularly the powerful influence of religion, and the role of social change in Navajo history may overlook the enduring forces for continuity.

William H. Lyon

A professor of history at Northern Arizona University, William H. Lyon is the author of works on frontier journalism and Arizona. He is currently working on a survey of Navajo history and culture.

THE MAGNIFICENT EXPERIMENT: BUILDING THE SALT RIVER RECLAMATION PROJECT, 1890-1917. (Tuscon, AZ: University of Arizona Press, 1986. vii + 200 pp., notes, biblio., index. $22.50)

The phenomenal growth of the Phoenix metropolitan area as a center of America's booming Sunbelt has been contingent on one factor: water. The availability of water from the Salt and Verde Rivers has enabled farmers, speculators, and developers over the past hundred and twenty years to transform a part of one of the continent's harshest deserts into an agricultural, and more recently, an urban oasis. For most of the twentieth century, control of this resource has rested with the Salt River Project. In this volume, Karen L. Smith, a senior planner with the Project, recounts the organization's development from a collection of fractious and competing private irrigators into a water users' association which became a model for other United States Reclamation Service undertakings.

Despite the subtitle of the book, readers looking for a thorough description of the physical construction of the Salt River Project and its facilities will be disappointed. Most of the book is an institutional history of the Salt River Valley Water Users' Association, its formation, early history, and relations with the Reclamation Service. She discusses with admiration the efforts of Benjamin Fowler, a health seeker from New England who became a passionate believer in the reclamation movement and first president of the SRVWUA. At the national level, Frederick H. Newell, Director of the Reclamation Service, emerged as an archetypical social engineer, fiercely devoted to his agency and to the philosophy of the National Reclamation Act. Together these individuals were mostly responsible for the early success of the Project through the building of Roosevelt Dam.

Following the construction of Roosevelt Dam, two new leaders emerge in Smith's narrative. Salt River Valley rancher and civil engineer John Orme assumed a more prominent role, replacing Fowler as SRVWUA's president. With fewer connections to the Reclamation Service than Fowler, Orme sought to build consensus among Salt River Valley irrigators. Leadership at the federal level also shifted to Woodrow Wilson's first Secretary of the Interior, Franklin K. Lane. Lane took an active interest in the Reclamation Service, emphasizing cooperation with water users, even if it meant modifying the philosophy and provisions of the Reclamation Act. By 1917, when the SRVWUA assumed operation of the Project, its future seemed assured by the well established private farming and irrigating base and the organization of a single, determined water users' association.

Smith's history, based upon her doctoral dissertation, is well researched, relying to a large extent on Salt River Project corporate files and Reclamation Service documents. She clearly admires the "great men" of the story, but says relatively little in the book about those who actually "built" the Project. Their stories also need to be told. Moreover, the project was not completed by 1917. Three more dams on the Salt River and two on the Verde would be constructed over the next three decades, as would electric power plants and distribution systems. As institutional history, however, *The Magnificent Experiment* provides an introduction to the turbulent history of water management in the desert Southwest.

Blaine P. Lamb

Blaine P. Lamb, who holds a Ph.D. from Arizona State University and was a writer-editor for the Army Corp of Engineers in Arizona, is archivist for the California State Railroad Museum in Sacramento. He is presently working on studies of the Corps of Engineers and the Colorado River and commercial navigation of the Mokelumne River.

FORTY YEARS IN THE WILDERNESS: IMPRESSIONS OF NEVADA. By James W. Hulse. (Reno, NE: University of Nevada Press, 1986. ix + 141 pp., illus., notes, biblio., index. $9.95)

"We have licensed a good deal more than gambling in Nevada," observes Hulse in the course of this brief but provocative book, "and in the process of conquering one wilderness we have created another, far more threatening than the original."

This book is the sum of Hulse's reflections on the changes he has witnessed since he was a boy in Pioche and since Nevada was a desert backwater of small towns and scattered ranches. The central force in the great transformation of the last forty years, in Hulse's view, has been the rise of an economy and a state government overwhelmingly dependent on legalized gambling — "the well-regulated servant had taken control of the lord and master."

He briefly sketches the explosive growth of the Las Vegas and Reno areas, the evolution of land and water policies pressing dangerously close to environmental limits, and the state's efforts to cleanse criminal elements from gambling. The record he cites does not encourage confidence in effective regulation. Harsh criticism is also accorded to the legislative practice of niggardly support for the public sector, despite bountiful revenues gleaned from gambling tourists. In bold language, Hulse depicts the portrait of a parasitic state, without a social conscience, "content to live by its own cloistered and distorted values" and dedicated to the care and feeding of gaming.

Hulse's recommendations, although viewed as visionary in some quarters, seem modest enough. He urges stringent regulation of gambling and a five year moratorium on the construction of new casinos; scarce resources might then be allocated to a greater variety of industries. Recalling heady days of political activism that must have been more inspiring to the participants than a tent revival meeting, he hopes for a renewal of the Sagebrush Alliance that opposed installation of the MX racetrack missile system, this time in the interest of enlightened social policies and casinos purged of racketeers.

One is tempted to argue with Hulse on some points, a reaction he would undoubtedly welcome. One might wish he had further explored the scenarios beyond the horizon for Nevada if its "peculiar institution" were to become the general mode of life throughout the land. But Hulse's inquiry into Nevada's present condition and future prospects is probably worth a dozen descriptive histories rehashing old battles and hack politicians. We are fortunate to receive the "personal testimonial" of a distinguished historian on the most critical contemporary problems in his native state.

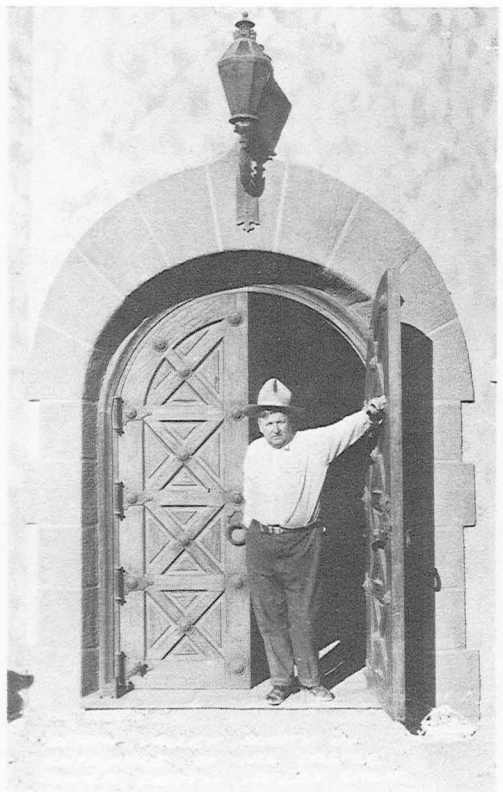
Sally S. Zanjani

Sally S. Zanjani is associated with the political science department at the University of Nevada, Reno. She has authored several works on Nevada, and Last of the Desert Frontiersmen, *her biography of frontiersman Andrew J. Longstreet, will be published this year by Ohio University Press.*

DEATH VALLEY AND THE AMARGOSA: A LAND OF ILLUSION. By Richard E. Lingenfelter. (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1986. vii + 664 pp., illus., notes, biblio., index. $39.95)

Once the Salton Sink became the Salton Sea, Death Valley gained an undisputed claim to its triple distinction of being the lowest, driest, hottest geographical feature of North America, indeed of the Western Hemisphere. Formed by the spreading of the Pacific sea floor, as was the Gulf of California and the Salton Sink, its creation has some far-reaching implications down the millennia ahead. Continued sea-floor spreading, or whatever plate tectonics may contrive in its stead, will see the Gulf, Salton Sea, Death Valley, and Walker Lake become one channel reaching northwards until it connects with another sliver in the landscape coming in from Cape Mendocino to make California an even larger island than it was believed to be before the explorations of Father Kino.

This latter possibility is not a concern of the author. Everything else that happened in and about Death Valley from the Lost Wagon Train so-called of Forty-Niner days unto its creation as a National Monument in 1933 is explored, examined, dissected, analyzed, probed, assayed, and presented in a pungent, flowing style, that has moments of sheer acerbity to juice the reader's interest. That this style is grounded in prodigious research merits notice here, simply because in all this reviewer's attention to works about the American West and California, including several of the author's previous forays into these fields, the research in this work beggars description.



Let his treatment of the Panamint excitement at the head of Surprise Canyon stand for all the rest, not alone for the dexterity with which he harpoons Senators Jones and Stewart, and their colleague Trenor Park, but for his lucid, succinct account of the stock-jobbing that was endemic in the mining West after the Comstock virtually sanctified the practice. Best of all, he caps this vivid vignette by reducing the 750-pound silver cannonballs that Stewart claimed to have utilized to thwart would-be road agents to more prosaic 400-pound cubes that were equally effective.

The entire work is crammed with telling tales such as the above, and Death Valley Scotty gets the attention he warrants for the hard fact that it was "Scotty" who thrust Death Valley into the world's consciousness. That he was a rimfire con artist is beside the point. The book is compelling in its freeze-frame treatment of the valley's kaleidoscopic events. It demands and deserves attention for far more than its geographical locale and what it has held of human activities and asininities, because it reveals once again what Frank Dobie knew about the human condition when it gets gripped by mineral chimeras: "The dreamer lives on forever while the toiler dies in a day."

W. H. Hutchinson

A respected interpreter of California, "Hutch" Hutchinson is the author of California: The Golden Shore by the Sundown Sea *(1987). He is Professor of History Emeritus at California State University, Chico.*

THE DEVELOPMENT OF LAW IN FRONTIER CALIFORNIA: CIVIL LAW AND SOCIETY, 1850-1890. By Gordon Morris Bakken. (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1985. 162 pp., illus., notes, tables, index. $29.95)

A JUDICIAL ODYSSEY: FEDERAL COURT IN SANTA CLARA, SAN BENITO, SANTA CRUZ, AND MONTEREY COUNTIES. By Michael Griffith, Christian G. Fritz, and Janet M. Hunter. (San Jose, CA: San Jose Advisory Committee, San Jose Federal Court, 1985. xv + 330 pp., illus., notes, index. $26.50 paper)

Two recent offerings in the field of legal history deal with the California courts and the development of law in that state. Since California is one of the most important states in developing legal theories, these studies are helpful in providing a historical context within which California jurisprudence takes on flesh and blood.

The Development of Law in Frontier California, unfortunately, concentrates on business law and omits completely the field of civil rights while including constitutional law only by reference in its chapters which treat contracts, torts, finance and real estate. This slender volume is designed to fill an important place in law libraries but has little appeal for the average reader and historian. In spite of its title, which suggests an analysis that will place law in a social context, the book offers very little in the way of social description or an explanation of how law was an important ingredient in forming California's unique social milieu. Insofar as attorneys and law professors need a study which provides some kind of historical context for understanding California law, this volume fills that requirement in the field of business law. But its emphasis on the technical aspects of legal theory make it too difficult for the layperson to enjoy.

A Judicial Odyssey offers a much richer story since it is the history of the development of the federal district court in San Jose. Here we have the sophisticated weaving of legal precedents and historical anecdotes into an enjoyable and comprehensive account of jurisprudence in the Northern District of California. Various contributors of the advisory committee describe the politics behind the establishment of the court and give us a realistic view of how the judiciary often views itself and the issues which affect it.

The book is divided, though unevenly, into well developed chapters which describe the early history, especially the land grant cases, and very short, almost "footnote chapters" at the end of the book which sketch out the peripheral functions of the present federal court. These later chapters are far too short, particularly in detailing the journalistic efforts of Rick Carroll. While they are very interesting, they leave the reader disappointed that the topics were not given proper treatment. Overall, however, the book offers a wealth of information and leaves the reader wishing that other federal and state courts would make similar efforts to sketch out some version of their history and accomplishments so we all might better understand how the judiciary functions and contributes to our lives.

Vine Deloria, Jr.

A professor of political science at University of Arizona, Vine Deloria, Jr., received his law degree from University of Colorado. He is the editor of volume two of the Smithsonian's Handbook of North American Indians.

IMINGAISHA: JAPANESE EMIGRATION COMPANIES AND HAWAII. By Alan Takeo Moriyama. (Honolulu, HI: University of Hawaii Press, 1985. x + 260 pp., notes, appendixes, biblio., index. $19.95)

During the fifteen year period between 1894 and 1908, the majority of Japanese emigrants traveled to Hawaii. Approximately 125,000 Japanese, primarily men from small rural villages, signed contracts with emigration companies referred to as "Imingaisha." These companies through their recruiters and branch offices offered guaranteed wages for three years of work on the sugar plantations.

Alan Moriyama describes and analyzes the Imingaisha and their entrepreneurial activities which consisted of complex and sometimes corrupt businesses, both in Japan and Hawaii. His study is based upon primary documents available in the archival holdings of the Japanese Foreign Ministry, recent Japanese scholarship and oral history sources.

In chronological sequence, Moriyama first establishes the political and economic forces which gave impetus to the development of the emigration companies, then elaborates in detail the activities of the companies with respect to their key participants or "actors" and the level of authority or "stage" on which they appeared. Moriyama also investigates the reasons why the emigration companies failed as private ventures and how they created a legacy for thousands of individuals who decided to make a home for themselves in the Hawaiian Islands.

Throughout his discussion, Moriyama paints a comprehensive, exact picture of the Imingaisha. The author demonstrates a unique ability to present his findings in a highly detailed yet well organized and clearly written style. *Imingaisha* can be best characterized as in-depth scholarship in its finest form. It keenly focuses upon a specific subject, offering insights into all the facets, the pieces and linkages.

The emigration companies are examined in terms of (1) the emigration process in Japan, and (2) the immigration process in Hawaii. Moriyama carefully explains how the process functioned in the growing and changing societies of Meiji Japan. The reader is also provided a clear portrait of how workers were recruited, contracted, transported to Hawaii, housed, paid, supervised and returned to Japan.

Because of such detailed analysis, *Imingaisha* advances the field of Japanese American studies. Moriyama has written the definitive work on one of the most important private institutions affecting the lives of the first generation Japanese to Hawaii.

Dennis M. Ogawa

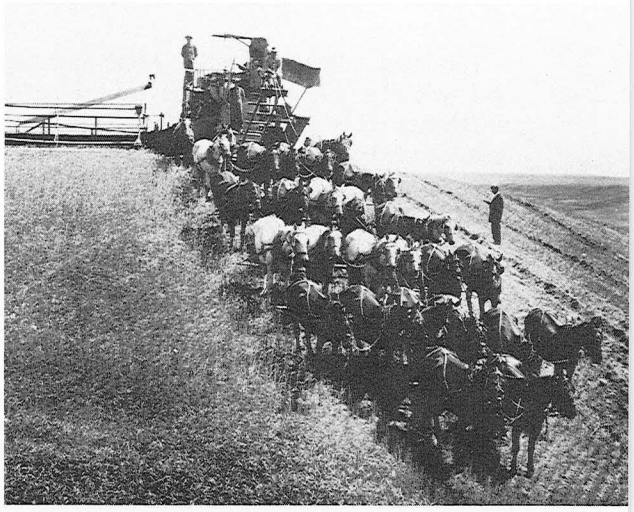
Dennis M. Ogawa is Professor of American Studies, University of Hawaii. He is the author of Jan Ken Po: The World of Hawaii's Japanese Americans *(1973),* Kodomo No Tame Ni: The Japanese American Experience in Hawaii *(1978) and a co-author of the newly-released biography,* Ellison S. Onizuka: A Remembrance *(1986).*

THE INLAND EMPIRE: UNFOLDING YEARS, 1879-1929. By John Fahey. (Seattle, WA: University of Washington Press, 1986. 310 pp., illus., biblio., index. $19.95)

John Fahey, author of several informative articles and books on eastern Washington and northern Idaho, in this study adds to our understanding of this region's economic development. Fahey's title, *Inland Empire*, is controversial. D. W. Meinig (*The Great Columbia Plain*) and others conclude that much of the so-called Inland Empire is linked economically, socially, and culturally with Seattle and Portland, not with Spokane. Fahey, who fails to provide a clear map of what he considers to be the Inland Empire, correctly states that it "expands and contracts depending on who is defining it" (xi), but his inclusion of Missoula (208) is inappropriate.

The author states that his purpose is "to provide a cohesive narrative of the major social and economic themes in the emergence of the Inland Empire" (xi). He provides useful information on wheat growing, railroading, banking, apple growing, lumbering, and mining during the fifty years prior to the stock market crash of 1929. His discussion of the historical problems of marketing wheat, apples and lumber is helpful in understanding contemporary issues. Fahey also deserves credit for unraveling much of the complicated railroad and irrigation history of inland Washington. His discussion of irrigation, however, fails to mention that intercropping, planting between the rows of maturing trees, helped new orchardists make mortgage payments. Fahey correctly emphasizes apple production, but hops, peaches, and alfalfa also were at various places and times important cash crops. Orcharding was more appealing and successful — even for those who had less than twenty acres — than he concludes. Minor industries such as livestock, brewing, and farm machinery factories were important to various parts of the region and should have received attention.

Despite its shortcomings, the author's discussion of industries is far superior to his skimpy treatment of the region's social history. He incorrectly generalizes that "churches lagged behind settlement by ten years or more for practical reasons" (11). Actually, clergymen such as Cushing Eells built churches during their communities' earliest development. He provides a sketch of Washington State University but ignores other regional schools. The I. W. W. and minorities, including the Chinese, receive too little attention. Fahey acknowledges women as schoolteachers but ignores the hardships and contributions of farm and town women.



Readers who get by the choppy first chapter will find considerable information on eastern Washington's basic industries and on Spokane, the only city in the region to receive adequate attention. Other scholars of the region, which has not attracted the scholarship it deserves, will find Fahey's reference text and bibliography helpful.

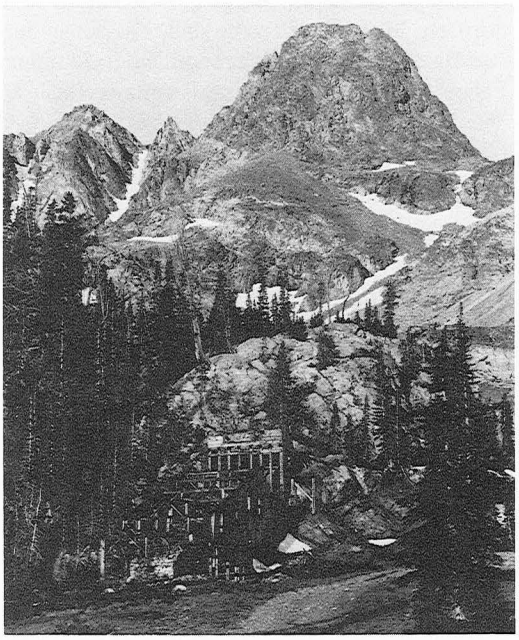
G. Thomas Edwards

A professor of history at Whitman College, G. Thomas Edwards is researching the visit of Susan B. Anthony to the Pacific Northwest in 1871 and is writing a history of Whitman College, 1859-1919. He is co-editor of Experiences in a Promised Land, Essays in Pacific Northwest History, *(1986).*

BONANZA WEST: THE STORY OF THE WESTERN MINING RUSHES, 1848-1900. By William S. Greever. (Moscow, ID: University of Idaho Press, 1986. 430 pp., biblio., index. $10.95)

This is one of the standards of western writing and was first published by the University of Oklahoma Press in 1963. Such printing history should have been included in the reprint, as well as a few paragraphs of introductory material to place the work in perspective.

The strengths and weaknesses of this volume are the same to me now as when I first read the original over two decades ago. Greever includes a number of useful maps and presents chapters on some of the most well known rushes. He has a few chapters each on California, Nevada, Colorado, Montana, Idaho, South Dakota and the Klondike. He blends prospecting with mining, milling, and smelting, and includes some of the rich tales based on gambling, urban growth, crime, politics, Indian troubles, the Army, and the trials of weather and terrain. In addition to a useful bibliography based on a regional approach, the author also includes some specifics in footnotes that will enable readers to investigate further those items that appeal the most.



The value of such a reprint is to make available once more what is considered to be a sound work on western mining history. However, hundreds of books and articles have appeared since 1963, many of them covering the same ground, but based on new information and approaches. Where Greever may once have been considered a pioneer in trying to synthesize the saga, he now seems a bit dated. He also practically ignores mining in British Columbia in the late 1850s, and considers the rush to La Paz, Arizona, in the 1860s unworthy of mention.

In spite of these few problems, I am pleased to see the Greever work again available. If one were to construct a college course in western mining history, works such as Rodman Paul's *Mining Frontiers of the Far West* (1963) or Otis Young's *Western Mining* (1970) would get the nod. But the addition of Greever's *Bonanza West* would give some spice and introduce some specific incidents and interesting personalities missing in the more authoritative works.

Donald Chaput

Donald Chaput is a curator at the Natural History Museum, Los Angeles. He specializes in the mining history of the American West, the Philippines, and Australasia.

BRIGHAM YOUNG AND THE EXPANDING AMERICAN FRONTIER. By Newell G. Bringhurst. (Boston, MA: Little, Brown and Company, 1986. vii + 246 pp., illus., maps, biblio., index. $8.75)

Brigham Young has been the subject of numerous biographies, both during his lifetime (1801-1877) and since. Two of the better biographies of the Mormon prophet and leader have appeared in the past two years — Leonard Arrington's *American Moses* and this volume by Newell Bringhurst. Arrington's biography is much more extensive and was written for a different audience than Bringhurst's brief volume which is part of the Library of American biography series edited by Oscar Handlin.

Young was born in Vermont and, like many other Yankees, moved westward and grew to maturity in the towns and villages along the Erie Canal. Young was converted to the Mormon Church (the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints) in 1832 and over the next twelve years served as a missionary, a member of Zion's Camp, a member of the Quorum of Twelve Apostles, and an intimate friend and colleague of the Mormon leader, Joseph Smith. In Nauvoo, Illinois, Young was introduced to plural or celestial marriage (polygamy) and eventually married more than forty women (forty-five is the usually accepted number) and fathered fifty-six children. Young's involvement with polygamy is well known, and Bringhurst describes Young's wives and children throughout the book.

After Smith's death in 1844, Young became the leader of the bulk of the Mormons. Most of Bringhurst's biography deals with the era from 1844 until 1877 when Young died. During this era, Young directed the Mormon exodus to the Great Basin. He served as church leader, governor of the territory of Utah (1850-1858), and territorial Indian agent for a time. As the guiding force behind the Mormon colonization of the Great Basin, he was sought for practical as well as religious advice.

Bringhurst has woven together the many and varied aspects of Young's career into the larger picture of Mormonism, the Utah Territory, and the American West, particularly during the middle decades of the nineteenth century. The account by Bringhurst is generally sympathetic to Young and the Mormons, and is similar to other volumes of the Library of American biography series — generally brief, but with enough detail for the general reader. There are a few problems. The phrase "a short distance" is used in the book (pages 143 and 160) when actual mileage would be more appropriate. The description of the events leading to the Mountain Meadows Massacre is a little unclear, and the Platte River is almost always misspelled throughout the volume. These are minor errors and should not detract from an otherwise well-done biography of Brigham Young.

Richard W. Sadler

Richard W. Sadler is a professor of history at Weber State College in Ogden, Utah. He is currently writing a history of Weber College and development of the Weber River.

PAPER MEDICINE MAN: JOHN GREGORY BOURKE AND HIS AMERICAN WEST. By Joseph C. Porter. (Norman, OK: University of Oklahoma Press, 1986. xviii + 352 pp., illus., notes, biblio., index. $29.95)

John Gregory Bourke graduated from West Point in 1869 and for the next twenty-seven years he served as an officer in the United States army. During that time his assignments took him through much of the West as a staff officer for General Crook, and then as a full-time ethnologist for the army. He began his career with attitudes typical of many young officers who saw the Indians of the West as vicious savages who needed to be subdued and then civilized by their white conquerors. However, after living with both Apache and Sioux groups he came to recognize the native peoples as anything but savage, and turned his efforts to studying and recording their distinctive cultures. By the late 1880s his ideas had changed so much that he was working with eastern reform groups to have Geronimo and his followers released from their imprisonment in Florida and Alabama and returned west.

Joseph Porter places Bourke's experience within the context of army exploration and scientific ventures that resulted from the white invasion of the region. He claims that Bourke's scientific writings about Native Americans kept some public attention focused on the West while helping to shape public attitudes toward the Indians. Basing his work on Bourke's voluminous diaries, correspondence, and published works, the author offers a rather mixed view of his subject. The individual he presents is anything but loveable. A whining, self-centered, often mean-spirited person among his fellow army officers and scientists, Bourke was an insensitive bully when doing field work among the Indians. While reading Porter's description of Bourke's invasion of Hopi kivas during the secret snake dance rituals, one can only wonder why the Indians allowed the prying ethnologist to remain in their community. Certainly Porter shows that Bourke's raging ethnocentrism and frequent lack of empathy for Indian rites set a negative standard that few later ethnologists cared to emulate.

On the other hand, Bourke did make significant contributions of ethnological data about the groups he studied before their cultures were overrun by the invading whites. His investigations played an important role in governmental efforts to increase scientific knowledge at the time. The author is not entirely successful in bringing out Bourke's motivations and feelings, but correctly places the man in his own time and place.

Roger L. Nichols

Roger L. Nichols, editor of American Frontier and Western Issues: A Historiographical Review *(1986), is working on a comparative study of the Indian experience in the United States and Canada. He is Professor of History at the University of Arizona.*

AMERICAN FORESTRY: HISTORY OF NATIONAL, STATE AND PRIVATE COOPERATION. By William G. Robbins. (Lincoln, NE: University of Nebraska Press, 1985. 344 pp., notes, biblio., index. $26.95)

THIS WELL-WOODED LAND: AMERICANS AND THEIR FORESTS FROM COLONIAL TIMES TO THE PRESENT. By Thomas R. Cox, Robert S. Maxwell, Phillip Drennon Thomas and Joseph J. Malone. (Lincoln, NE: University of Nebraska Press, 1985. xviii + 348 pp., illus., appendix, notes, biblio., index. $27.95)

Natural resource history has been an active, productive field of interest for historians in recent years. The subjects touch the wide range of fisheries, mining, forests, forage, and water to mention only the main topics. The field considers economic development of resources, relationships of government to the economics of development, environmental impacts, and finally the crusade to conserve the resource. William Robbins' work addresses important questions and legislation relating to the role of state and national governments in the American forest industry. The treatment is thorough, thoughtful, and critical. Generally the author concludes that at almost every stage in the rise of public forestry government extended to the private sector considerations amounting to subsidies.

Perhaps "subsidy" is too strong of a characterization, but the point of view expressed by Robbins suggests that government policies lent themselves to the profit making goals of the private sector and not always to conservation or sustained-yield practices envisioned in the programs. Where conservation and enlightened forestry practices were adopted through cooperative programs, the economic self-interest of private industry was almost never affronted. Far from being a stern overseer of private forestry practices, government emerges as an accomplice in its quest for profits at the expense of the resource. While these are controversial, but well-defended positions, they do give the book a combative tone.

Such is not the case with *This Well-Wooded Land*, written by a committee of four historians. Here is an ambitious attempt to portray the contribution that America's abundant forests have made to society, economy, and the political expansion of the nation itself. The approach is chronological and regional. Treatment of the colonial era, early national period, and middle period is sequential, typical of most American history texts. But most rewardingly, the forest-use theme emerges as the dominant thread holding this history together. While the tone of the Robbins book is combative and critical, the tone of this work is triumphant and congratulatory. There is little regret expressed at the wholesale exploitation of vast forest resources in the nineteenth century. These events are viewed as essential to economic growth in a nation approaching economic take-off prior to industrialization. Wood products were also essential to the transportation revolution that came with the railroads. The wood used in building the railroads exceeded the value of the steel for the tracks upon which the iron horse ran. The cheap production of nails by the 1840s made frame "ballon" construction available for non-labor intensive construction and easily transported milled lumber. This lumber also came from mills now utilizing new circular saws that increased mill production.

Clearly this work brings together a discussion of resource and technological history concerning wood and wood products that has heretofore existed only in diverse literature, but now fortunately in this one volume. Still it is not totally devoted to technology in the "Age of Wood" of the nineteenth century, but also to conservation politics and public land policies in the twentieth century. Despite an occasional criticism that this book promises more than it delivers, students of resource history will welcome this comprehensive treatment of a subject that has produced much speculation and mythology.

William D. Rowley

William D. Rowley, Professor of History at University of Nevada, Reno, is the author of U. S. Forest Service Grazing and Rangelands, *(1985). He is the Executive Secretary of the Western History Association.*

AMERICAN RODEO: FROM BUFFALO BILL TO BIG BUSINESS. By Kristine Fredriksson. (College Station, TX: Texas A & M University Press, 1985. xiii + 255 pp., illus., biblio., notes, index, appendix. $18.95)

This book is well developed and historically correct as to dates and events. It portrays admirably rodeo life from its beginning to the present. Charts of world champions, scores, notes and bibliography are accurate and well documented. The index is comprehensive and photographs were carefully selected.

The narrative begins with Buffalo Bill who featured the cowboy in his entertaining Wild West shows. The author then shows how rodeo developed into the big business that it is today. At the same time, the rodeo cowboy, at the heart of the business, saw his poor wages and working conditions improve.

Fredriksson makes the often-repeated claim that the cowboy was transformed in the eyes of society over the years from an undesirable character to a more respectable one. It is a myth, however, that early cowboys were shiftless people. Writers do not need to perpetuate this myth. Many rodeo cowboys owned or worked on ranches and returned to them after competing in rodeos. And many never drank.

Fredriksson worked at the Pro Rodeo Hall of Champions at Colorado Springs and spent five years working on this book. She can be proud of the result. *American Rodeo* is interesting reading, in spite of its attention to the financial and business side of rodeo life. It will be valuable to rodeo fans and students of sports history and the West in general. The book deserves a place in every library of rodeo publications.

Paul de Fonville

Paul de Fonville is president of the Cowboy Memorial and Library in Walker Basin, Kern County, California. His research interests range from rodeos and cowboys to Indians and mountain men.

Pacific Bookshelf

Harlan Hague

THE PLAINS AND THE ROCKIES

Hiram Martin Chittenden, *The American Fur Trade of the Far West*, introduction by Stallo Vinton (University of Nebraska Press, Lincoln, NE. 1986, 2 vols., 994 pp., vol. 1, $10.95 paper; vol. 2, $9.95 paper) is a fine paperback reprint of this classic history of the fur trapping era. Originally published in 1935, it is still the most complete and most often quoted source on the period. *If We Had a Boat: Green River Explorers, Adventures, and Runners*, by Roy Webb (University of Utah Press, Salt Lake, UT. 1986, 205 pp., $14.95 paper), tells the story of the Green River from 1825 to recent times.

In *Wild Mustangs* (Utah State University Press, Logan, UT. 1986, 142 pp., $9.95 paper), Parley J. Paskett spins tales about mustangs he knew during his years in northern Nevada's arid country. A legendary ranch in the Ponca Indian territory in north-central Oklahoma is the subject of Ellsworth Collings and Alma Miller England's *The 101 Ranch* (University of Oklahoma Press, Norman, OK. 1986, 285 pp., $8.95 paper), first published in 1937. The ranch was the inspiration for the "101 Real Wild West Show." The story of William F. Cody, who produced the most famous western show, is told in *Buckskins, Bullets, and Business: A History of Buffalo Bill's Wild West*, by Sarah J. Blackstone (Greenwood Press, New York, NY. 1986, 157 pp., $27.95). The book focuses on the show both as entertainment and popular culture phenomenon.

From fantasy to reality of frontier life, Judith Hancock Sandoval in *Historic Ranches of Wyoming* (University of Nebraska Press, Lincoln, NE. 1986, 97 pp., $25) pictures in text and photographs the architectural heritage of rural Wyoming. Lewis G. Thomas' *Ranchers' Legacy*, edited by Patrick A. Dunae (University of Alberta Press, Edmonton, Alberta. 1987, 242 pp., $14.95 paper), is a history of southern Alberta's "golden age" of ranching between 1882 and 1914 when settlers gave a distinctly British flavor to the province's rangelands and foothills. *Land of the Burnt Thigh*, by Edith Eudora Kohl (Minnesota Historical Society Press, St. Paul, MN. 1987, 332 pp., $7.95 paper), is a lively story of single women homesteaders on the South Dakota frontier in the opening years of the twentieth century. This autobiographical account was first published in 1938.

THE SOUTHWEST

Josefina Zoraida Vazquez and Lorenzo Meyer, *The United States and Mexico* (The University of Chicago Press, Chicago, IL. 1985, 233 pp., $29), is a study, from a Mexican viewpoint, of the development of Mexican-United States relations. The volume chronicles the influence that the United States has had on the politics, economy and culture of Mexico. The problems of international borders in Europe, Africa and North America are examined by Oscar J. Martinez, editor, in *Across Boundaries: Transborder Interaction in Comparative Perspective* (Texas Western Press, El Paso, TX. 1986, 216 pp., $15). One of the areas studied is the United States-Mexican boundary.

A brief history of part of that boundary is found in Pat Kelley, *River of Lost Dreams: Navigation on the Rio Grande* (University of Nebraska Press, Lincoln, NE. 1986, 163 pp., $17.95). *Ghost Towns of Texas*, by T. Lindsay Baker (University of Oklahoma Press, Norman, OK. 1986, 205 pp., $24.95), brings to life eighty-eight ghost towns throughout the state. The volume includes maps and directions and is well illustrated with vintage and modern photographs.

Writing in the spring of 1846, Donaciano Vigil in *Arms, Indians, and the Mismanagement of New Mexico*, translated and edited by David J. Weber (Texas Western Press, El Paso, TX. 1986, 70 pp., $10 cloth; $5 paper), describes problems that plagued the frontier province on the eve of the United States conquest. This is a rare view of the territory from a Mexican point of view, just before it is overwhelmed by American forces. Another sort of violence, New Mexico's notorious Lincoln County War, is the subject of Robert M. Utley, *Four Fighters of Lincoln County* (University of New Mexico Press, Albuquerque, NM. 1986, 137 pp., $19.95). The subjects of the study are Alexander McSween, Billy the Kid, Colonel Nathan A. M. Dudley, and Lew Wallace, a governor of New Mexico and author of *Ben-Hur*.

A more tranquil New Mexico is pictured in *American Adobes: Rural Houses of Northern New Mexico*, by Beverley Spears (University of New Mexico Press, Albuquerque, NM. 1987, 195 pp., $19.95 paper). Built by Hispanics, the houses reveal the gradual influence of American architecture on the traditional Hispanic style. The photographs were taken between 1983 and 1985.

CALIFORNIA

Early California Reflections is a catalogue of an exhibit on daily life in early California produced by the San Juan Capistrano Regional Library of Orange County. The volume includes historical and interpretive essays by Norman Neuerburg, Iris Engstrand and David Hornbeck. The publication can be purchased for $7 paper, from the library, 31495 El Camino Real, San Juan Capistrano, CA 92675.

Two more volumes in Msgr. Francis J. Weber's documentary history of California missions, begun in 1975 and nearing completion, have been published by Libra Press, Los Angeles, CA. They are *Our Lady's Mission: A Documentary History of La Purisima Concepcion* (1986, 252 pp., $18) and *The Patriarchal Mission: A Documentary History of San Jose* (1986, 261 pp., $18). The books may be purchased from Dawson's Book Shop, 535 North Larchmont Blvd., Los Angeles, CA 90004. The history of another venerable institution is *Occidental College: A Centennial History*, by Andrew Rolle (Occidental College, Los Angeles, CA. 1986, 250 pp., $24). One of the top colleges of liberal arts and sciences in the United States, Occidental's history is intertwined with that of Los Angeles and southern California.

Mines, Murders & Grizzlies: Tales of California's Ventura Back Country, by Charles F. Outland (Ventura Historical Society and The Arthur H. Clark Co., Los Angeles, CA. 1986, 151 pp., $25 cloth; $10.95 paper), was first published in 1969, and this new volume includes new material from the late 1800s.

ETHNICITY

Robert R. Alvarez, Jr., *Familia: Migration and Adaptation in Baja and Alta California, 1800-1975* (University of California Press, Berkeley, CA. 1987, 228 pp., $35) traces the Mexican twentieth-century northward migration to its nineteenth-century roots. Rather than focusing on the economic factor, the traditional framework for the study of population movement, Alvarez dwells on the human dimension of migration centering on the family. *American Daughter* (Minnesota Historical Society Press, St. Paul, MN. 1986, 269 pp., $9.95 paper), first published in 1946, is Era Bell Thompson's story of growing up in North Dakota in the early twentieth century. The author and her family were among the few blacks in the state at the time.

The New Peoples: Being and Becoming Metis in North America, edited by Jacqueline Peterson and Jennifer S. H. Brown (University of Nebraska Press, Lincoln, NE. 1985, 288 pp., $22.50), is a collection of essays on the history of the Metis, but more broadly about how new peoples, new ethnicities and new nationalities come into being. The book is the outgrowth of the first international Conference of the Metis in North America, hosted by the Newberry Library in Chicago.

INDIANS

Kenneth R. Philp, editor, *Indian Self-Rule: First-Hand Accounts of Indian-White Relations from Roosevelt to Reagan* (Howe Brothers, Salt Lake, UT. 1986, 348 pp., $12.50) chronicles Indian policy and response from the Indian Reorganization Act to the present. Contributors include Indian activists and leaders, government officials, scholars, lawyers and other professionals. A smaller segment of Indian-white relations is *Mormons, Indians and the Ghost Dance Religion of 1890*, by Garold D. Barney (University Press of America, Lanham, MD. 1986, 267 pp., $28 cloth; $13.50 paper). The volume examines those features of Mormonism which may have influenced the Ghost Dance movement.

The Life and Times of Little Turtle: First Sagamore of the Wabash, by Harvey Lewis Carter (University of Illinois Press, Champaign, IL. 1987, 289 pp., $24.95), is the first major biography of this war chief of the Miami Indians. The ascendancy of Mishikinakwa, The Little Turtle, coincided with the formative years of the American republic, and his policy of accommodation and peaceful coexistence was doomed. The Choctaw Indians, once one of the largest tribes in North America, suffered similarly. *After Removal: The Choctaw in Mississippi*, edited by Samuel J. Wells and Roseanna Tubby (University Press of Mississippi, Jackson, MS. 1986, 163 pp., $22.50), helps to complete the history of the Choctaw following removal, by telling the story of that portion of the tribe that remained in Mississippi after the majority, about 20,000 of a population of 25,000, was resettled in Oklahoma.

An older Indian culture is the subject of *Ancient Texans: Rock Art & Lifeways Along the Lower Pecos*, by Harry J. Shafer (Texas Monthly Press, Austin, TX. 1987, 261 pp., $35). The volume, handsomely illustrated with photographs and drawings, includes a skillfully-crafted fictional account of daily life nine thousand years ago in this fertile region where the Devils and Pecos rivers meet the Rio Grande.

Winfred Buskirk, *The Western Apache: Living With the Land Before 1950* (University of Oklahoma Press, Norman, OK. 1986, 287 pp., $22.50), is an account of daily activity and making a living from a seemingly hostile environment in pre-reservation days. Describing the western Apaches as farmers, hunters and gatherers, the author gives balance to the traditional view of Apaches as parasitic raiders. Another stereotype is challenged in *Apache Women Warriors*, by Kimberly Moore Buchanan (Texas Western Press, El Paso, TX. 1986, 52 pp., $10 paper). The author shows that Apache women, while serving as the principal providers for their families, also might take part in raids and wars and claim the gift of supernatural powers.

The Kalispel Indians, by John Fahey (University of Oklahoma Press, Norman, OK. 1986, 247 pp., $18.95), chronicles the lifeways of this Pacific Northwest tribe and their relations with whites. Though accommodating to the white intruders, the Kalispel were more successful than most tribes in keeping their identity and at least a fragment of their lands.

ENVIRONMENT

Indian rights and environmental concerns are discussed in Fay G. Cohen, *Treaties on Trial: The Continuing Controversy over Northwest Indian Fishing Rights* (University of Washington Press, Seattle, WA. 1896, 282 pp., $20). The controversy has roots both in the 1850s' treaties in which Indians retained fishing rights, and the environmental and economic considerations of the present day. Indian rights, water quality and distribution among the thirsty lands and populations in seven western states are problems discussed in *New Courses for the Colorado River: Major Issues for the Next Century*, edited by Gary D. Weatherford and F. Lee Brown (University of New Mexico Press, Albuquerque, NM. 1986, 324 pp., $35 cloth; $17.50 paper).

The Dilemma of Wilderness, by Corry McDonald (Sunstone Press, Santa Fe, NM. 1986, 115 pp., $10.95 paper), is an examination of the idea of wilderness and the history of wilderness movement. There is some focus on New Mexico which has figured importantly in the movement from the beginning. Paul Schullery, editor, *Island in the Sky: Pioneering Accounts of Mt. Rainier, 1833-1894* (The Mountaineers, Seattle, WA. 1987, 214 pp., $10.95 paper), includes first-hand narratives of ascents and the editor's comments on the issues raised in the narratives.

IMAGES

In *Backstory: Interviews With Screenwriters of Hollywood's Golden Age*, by Pat McGilligan (University of California Press, Berkeley, CA. 1986, 390 pp., $27.50), this articulate group of screenwriters (''less than dust'' in the Hollywood caste system, said one) tell their side of what happened on and off the set, before the cameras rolled and after they stopped. ''Backstory'' is insider's slang for what happens in a plot before the screen story begins. *Portrait of an Artist: A Biography of Georgia O'Keefe*, by Laurie Lisle (University of New Mexico Press, Albuquerque, NM. 1986, 418 pp., $29.95), is a sensitive account of O'Keefe's development as an artist, including her love affair with New Mexico. The present revision is expanded and includes photographs that did not appear in the original 1980 publication.

In Miners' Mirage-Land, by Idah M. Strobridge (Falcon Hill Press, Sparks, NV. 1986, 133 pp., $14.95 paper), is a collection of vignettes about the men, creatures and myths of the northwestern Nevada desert. The volume was considered a minor classic following its original publication in 1904. *The Life I've Been Living*, by Moses Cruikshank (University of Alaska Press, Fairbanks, AK. 1986, 139 pp., $14.95 paper), begins with autobiographical vignettes by the Athabaskan author. The concluding section, by oral historian William Schneider, discusses the historical significance of the stories.

SOURCES

Nevada Biographical and Genealogical Sketch Index, compiled by J. Carlyle Parker and Janet G. Parker (Marietta Publishing Co., Turlock, CA. 1986, 131 pp., $23.95), is a useful source for Nevada biographical, historical and genealogical research. The volume also contains an annotated bibliography of statewide biographical indexes for other states. *Alameda County Place Names*, by Page Mosier and Dan Mosier (Mines Road Books, Fremont, CA. 1986, 105 pp., $11.95 paper), includes the origin, evolution and definition of both current and obsolete sites in California's Alameda County. The volume may be purchased from the publisher at P.O. Box 3185, Fremont, CA 94539.

An invaluable resource for researchers in California history is *Newspaper Holdings of the California State Library*, compiled by Marianne Leach (California State Library Foundation, Sacramento, CA. 1986, 412 pp., $40 paper). The newspaper holdings of the library contain more than 2,500 titles.

A resource of a different sort is *Wild West Bartenders' Bible*, by Byron A. Johnson and Sharon Peregrine Johnson (Texas Monthly Press, Austin, TX. 1986, 285 pp., $19.95). The first part of the book is a history of the American saloon, the second part a listing of over five hundred recipes from rare bartenders' guides published between 1862 and 1906.

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Announcements

The CROCKER ART MUSEUM in Sacramento features an exhibition on California as depicted by artists since the mid-nineteenth century. The exhibition, entitled "California: The Land and the People," includes both famous and relatively unknown artists. The show will close on July 26, 1987. For more information, call (916) 449-5423.

The OAKLAND MUSEUM is sponsoring an exhibit entitled "Andrew Jackson Grayson: Audubon of the West." The exhibit, made possible with the collaboration of the Bancroft Library at the University of California, Berkeley, the Smithsonian Institution, and Arion Press, opens April 25, 1987, and runs until June 14. More than 150 watercolors by this famous nineteenth century illustrator and scientist highlight the work of one of the West's earliest naturalists.

The ELMER E. RASMUSON LIBRARY of the University of Alaska-Fairbanks announces the publication of the *Guide to the Mike Gravel Papers, 1957-1980*, edited by Barbara M. Tabbert. This guide to the papers of former U. S. Senator Mike Gravel is available as a paperback for $12 through the Rasmuson Library.

The WESTERN LITERATURE ASSOCIATION will hold its annual meeting October 15-17, 1987, in Lincoln, Nebraska. Papers on all aspects of Western American literature are invited and the deadline for submission is July 15. The conference will include an opportunity for participation in a field trip to Red Cloud, Nebraska, the home of Willa Cather. For additional information, contact Professor Susan Rosowski, President of the Western Literature Association, Department of English, University of Nebraska-Lincoln, Lincoln, NE, 68588.